

**Santo Spirito in Florence:
Brunelleschi, the *Opera*, the *Quartiere* and the *Cantiere***

**Submitted by Rocky Ruggiero to the University of Exeter
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Abstract

The church of Santo Spirito in Florence is universally accepted as one of the architectural works of Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446). It is nevertheless surprising that contrary to such buildings as San Lorenzo or the Old Sacristy, the church has received relatively little scholarly attention. Most scholarship continues to rely upon the testimony of Brunelleschi's earliest biographer, Antonio di Tuccio Manetti, to establish an administrative and artistic initiation date for the project in the middle of Brunelleschi's career, around 1428. Through an exhaustive analysis of the biographer's account, and subsequent comparison to the extant documentary evidence from the period, I have been able to establish that construction actually began at a considerably later date, around 1440.

It is specifically during the two and half decades after Brunelleschi's death in 1446 that very little is known about the proceedings of the project. A largely unpublished archival source which records the machinations of the *Opera* (works committee) of Santo Spirito from 1446-1461, sheds considerable light on the progress of construction during this period, as well as on the role of the *Opera* in the realization of the church. In addition to collecting outstanding debts, the *Opera* also began to sell the rights of patronage over many of the church's crossing chapels. The patrons of these chapels were members of the city's republican elite. Much of the quarter's social hierarchy is manifest in the church by the quantity of chapels owned by single families, rather than by chapel location. This is because Brunelleschi's "centralized basilica" plan made traditional altar proximity less exclusive. Moreover, chapel patrons were surprisingly almost all exclusively residents of only three of the quarter's four *gonfalon*i.

The controversies concerning the completion of the church between 1471 and 1487, including the construction of an enclosing wall around Brunelleschi's intended extruding semi-circular chapels, the hypothesis of barrel vaulting over the church, and the debate over the number of façade doors, suggest a general uncertainty about the architect's original plan. My research into this post-Brunelleschian history of Santo Spirito focuses on the role of the *cantiere* (work site) as heir to Brunelleschi's architectural inheritance; this also provides a means by which to insert the church into the wider context of the building tradition of fifteenth-century Florence. Like most *cantieri* of the time,

the one at Santo Spirito was quite fluid in structure, with a panoply of laborers and suppliers providing the building site with various services and materials. The significant amount of unpublished documentation presented in this thesis concerning the *cantiere* also provides a succinct case study of the finances of ecclesiastical construction, and a revealing comparative analysis of the building costs of labor and materials at Santo Spirito in relation to other fifteenth-century building projects in Florence such as the hospitals of San Paolo and the Innocenti, as well as the Strozzi Palace.

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Notes on Abbreviations, Dates, Names, Citations, Translations, Measures and Currency

Abbreviations

ASF: *Archivio di Stato di Firenze*

CRS: *Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese*

Dates:

Modern style years will be given in brackets after Florentine style dates, i.e. March 9, 1446[1447]

Names:

The spelling of all proper names has been modernized and standardized. Only in the case of direct quotations from archival source material has the original spelling been maintained.

Citations:

Full archival citations are provided for both published and unpublished archival information. In the case of previously published archival information, appropriate bibliographical information will be provided in parentheses next to archival citation.

Translations:

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

Measures

A Florentine *staio* or *staiorum* is the equivalent of 525.01m²

A Florentine *braccia* is the equivalent of 0.583m

Currency

1 *lira* (l.) = 20 *soldi* (s.) = 12 *denari* (d.)

1 *fiorni d'oro* (florin) = l.5 and s.14 [Conversion based on conversion factor employed in the *Libro dei Debitori e Creditori dal 1471-1481* (ASF, CRS, 122, 127)]

Geographical Compass

Although convention would suggest that the use of the liturgical compass would be more appropriate in the description of the orientation of the church of Santo Spirito, I have employed the geographical compass in order to avoid confusion and remain consistent with the usage adopted by the authors of the secondary literature cited in the text.

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Introduction

The Augustinian church of Santo Spirito in Florence is one of the great architectural works of the Early Renaissance. **(Fig. 1)** The present structure was designed by Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) sometime in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and replaced an earlier thirteenth-century church situated in the same approximate location.¹ As the *capoquartiere* or “head-quarter” church of the *Oltrarno* - as the urban district to the south side of the Arno river is known - Santo Spirito held a cardinal role in the medieval urbanism of the city. Along with the other quarter churches of Santa Croce, Santa Maria Novella and San Giovanni, and second only to the great cathedral of the city, Santa Maria del Fiore, Santo Spirito was the social and religious nexus of the commune for the entire demographic *rive gauche* of the city. **(Fig.’s 2 & 3)** What perhaps distinguishes Santo Spirito from the other quarter churches is that it is the only structure *all’antica*. Paradoxically, this would make it the only example of the “modern” architectural style of the fifteenth century amongst the principal churches of the city. Whereas the other major churches were either built or re-built between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, Santo Spirito was completely re-invented during the Renaissance.

In an attempt to add even greater prestige to their quarter, the citizens of the *Oltrarno* assigned the revolutionary architect Filippo Brunelleschi the task of transforming their outdated medieval church into a modern basilica *all’antica*; in the words of Brunelleschi’s earliest biographer, Antonio di Tuccio Manetti, “all the hope of the citizens being in him.”² A goldsmith-turned-architect, Brunelleschi had already made a name for himself by the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century with such projects as the porch for the Hospital of the Innocents (1419) and the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo (1421) where he first applied his classical architectural vocabulary and proportion.³ But the project

¹ For the history of the thirteenth-century church of Santo Spirito and its relation to the present church, see Chapter I, 1.

² A. Manetti, *The Life of Brunelleschi* (Introduction notes and critical text edition by H. Saalman), London, 1970, 123: “...essendo in lui tutta la speranza de’ cittadini”

³ For Brunelleschi’s role at the Hospital of the Innocents and the Old Sacristy, see H. Saalman, *Filippo Brunelleschi: The Buildings*, London, 1993, 32-81 and 113-143. For the Hospital of the Innocents, see also C. Mack, “Brunelleschi’s Hospital of the Innocents: of Proportions and Intentional Fallacies”, *Studies in*

that best defines Brunelleschi's *ingegno* and vision was the design and execution of the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore (1420-1436). As he is often described in both scholarly and popular accounts, Brunelleschi was the perfect balance of architect and engineer, visionary and traditionalist.⁴ He was arguably the first to resurrect an architectural language that had been dead for a millennium, and to re-establish that language as the foundation of Italian architecture for the next two and half centuries.⁵

That Brunelleschi was the architect of Santo Spirito is beyond question. But the questions that have been the foci of over a century of scholarly debate are at what point in his career he designed the church, and to what extent it was completed upon his death in April 1446. An accurate starting date for both the design and eventual construction of the church is of course important in order to properly insert the church into Brunelleschi's architectural *oeuvre*. So too would a better understanding of the extent and degree of the architect's direct involvement in the project define just how much of the church we see today is the result of Brunelleschi's original conception. Not only would a proper chronological assessment of the church allow us to understand its role in the career of the architect, but also how the chronology of Brunelleschi's career may have influenced his design of the church.

Since Ludwig Heydenreich's famous article "The Late Works of Brunelleschi" of 1931, most scholars have divided Brunelleschi's buildings between two chronological groups defined as a "first" (early) and "second" (mature) style.⁶ The flat, decorative wall so characteristic of the Old Sacristy (1421) and the Pazzi Chapel (begun sometime after 1429) is replaced in the

Iconography, 1979, 31-44. For the Old Sacristy, see also M. Trachtenberg, "On Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy as model for early Renaissance church architecture", *L'église dan l'architecture de la Renaissance*, 1995, 9-39.

⁴ See "Introduction" of I. Hyman, *Brunelleschi in Perspective*, New Jersey, 1974; for a more popular description of Brunelleschi, see R. King, *Brunelleschi's Dome*, London, 2001.

⁵ For the discussion of the direct influence of classical architecture on Brunelleschi's work, see H. Burns, "Quattrocento Architecture and the Antique", *The Renaissance: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies*, Oxon and New York, 2006, 471-500.

⁶ Most notably, E. Battisti, *Filippo Brunelleschi: The Complete Work*, New York, 1981; A. Bruschi, *Filippo Brunelleschi*, Milan, 2006; P. Sanpoalesi, *Brunelleschi*, Milan, 1962. The first scholar to argue against Heydenreich's theory is Eugenio Luporini. See E. Luporini, *Brunelleschi: Forma e Ragione*, Milan, 1964.

architect's later works by a moulded wall.⁷ **(Fig. 4 & 5)** Heydenreich defines this stylistic division such:

...in the works following the Pazzi Chapel a building style is begun which is so completely different from the preceding one that one might be tempted to speak not simply of a stylistic *development* but of a stylistic *reversal*. This applies to the following buildings which we wish to group together as late works from this point of view: the churches of S. Maria degli Angeli and Santo Spirito, and beyond these the Lantern and the so-called Exedras of the Florentine Cathedral.⁸

According to Heydenreich, along with S. Maria degli Angeli (1434), Santo Spirito was a harbinger of a mature style where the architectural “wallpaper” of his earlier buildings is transformed into fully-developed, structural architecture. **(Fig. 6)**

Some scholars have also interpreted Brunelleschi's intervention at Santo Spirito as a potential fulfillment of his abandoned intentions at the more famous, Medici-sponsored church of San Lorenzo (1421). **(Fig. 7)** Most notably, Howard Saalman wrote “Brunelleschi left the San Lorenzo project, probably after the death of his patron, Giovanni di Bicci, early in 1429 ... when the patricians of Santo Spirito pressed their opportunity in the wake of the political turnover of 1434, Brunelleschi had his second chance.”⁹ Likewise, Heydenreich defines Brunelleschi's conception for Santo Spirito as “...a solution that in every respect presents a reasoned conclusion to the problem of San Lorenzo.”¹⁰ That a strong association between the two churches exists is comprehensible, but that Santo Spirito should be relegated to a compensatory role is to overlook the unique identity of this church amongst Brunelleschi's creations.

Santo Spirito has a latin-cross ground plan **(Fig. 8)**. The southern arm of the church is extended six bays further than the other three. The altar is located at the center of the crossing square, and is circumvented on all four sides by a nave and side aisle. These in turn are surrounded on all but the

⁷ For the argument that the Pazzi Chapel was not in fact designed by Brunelleschi, see M. Trachtenberg, “Why the Pazzi Chapel is not by Brunelleschi”, *Casabella*, 1996, 58-77.

⁸ L. Heydenreich, “The Late Works of Brunelleschi” (in I. Hyman, *Brunelleschi in Perspective*, New Jersey, 1974), 1931, 110. Originally published in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 52, 1931, 1-28.

⁹ Saalman, 1993, 349.

¹⁰ Heydenreich (Hyman), 1974, 116.

façade wall by a continuous succession of 40 semi-circular chapels. As in all of Brunelleschi's interiors, the architectural members are articulated in *pietra serena*, and the wall surface in plaster. A general austerity permeates the decorum. **(Fig. 9)** The lack of an apse and of true axial supremacy, along with the concept of uniform chapels deviates significantly from the traditional architectural hierarchy of the ecclesiastical buildings of the time. Heydenreich was the first to define this unique conception for Santo Spirito as a "centralized basilica."¹¹ Later architects such as Leonardo, the Sangallos, Bramante and even Michelangelo would obsess over the centralized form.¹² It seems that more than just a harbinger of a mature style, or an *apologia* for a missed opportunity at San Lorenzo, Santo Spirito was the first church to entirely sever with Medieval building tradition and to anticipate the architectural trends of the High Renaissance.¹³

1.) Literature Review

It is surprising that contrary to such buildings as San Lorenzo or the Old Sacristy, Santo Spirito has received relatively little scholarly attention. The majority of the limited extant scholarship on Santo Spirito is largely an attempt to reassemble the construction history of the church, particularly during its Brunelleschian period. Yet, according to F.W. Kent, "The detailed building history of the new church of Santo Spirito has not yet been written."¹⁴ The significant corpus of new archival material presented in this text will not only contribute substantially to the scholarship concerning the church, but it will also create a much more comprehensive picture of its construction history. I believe that we can divide this history into three distinct chronological phases:

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² For a discussion of centrally-planned Renaissance churches, see B. Adorni, *La Chiesa a pianta centrale: tempio civico del Rinascimento*, Milan, 2002.

¹³ In his recent study of San Lorenzo, Marvin Trachtenberg claims, "...Santo Spirito, whose classical arcades may well have been an inspiration for San Lorenzo's nave, rather than the other way around, as is commonly believed" (M. Trachtenberg, "Building and Writing S. Lorenzo in Florence: Architect, Biographer, Patron and Prior", *Art Bulletin*, XCVII, 2015, 141).

¹⁴ F.W. Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence*, New Jersey, 1977, 283.

Phase 1: Initiation Date and Attribution, 1428-1446

These are the critical years associated with Brunelleschi's involvement *in persona* with the project. It is during this period that the initial contact was made between patron, in this case the *Opera* of Santo Spirito, and architect. This presumably resulted in an at least preliminary design or model for the church and the beginnings of the complex bureaucratic machinations involved in communal building projects in Medieval and Renaissance Florence.¹⁵ This is also presumably the period in which the actual construction of the church began. Much of what is known of this period is taken from primary biographical and limited archival sources.

Nearly all modern scholarship has accepted the year 1428 as an approximate or exact chronological marker for the beginnings of the Santo Spirito project. It is the year provided by Brunelleschi's earliest biographer, Antonio di Tuccio Manetti, in his *Life of Brunelleschi* written in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.¹⁶ Cornelius Fabriczy was the first scholar to discover significant archival material in relation to the construction of the new church of Santo Spirito. His *Filippo Brunelleschi: Sein Leben und Seine Werke*, originally published in 1892, is the seminal relevant study of the construction history of Santo Spirito.¹⁷ Fabriczy was the first to note a six-year discrepancy between the biographer's proposed starting date for the church project of 1428 and the earliest official document related to *Opera* activity at Santo Spirito that is dated

¹⁵ For communal building traditions in Medieval and Renaissance Florence, see R. Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore, 1980; and N. Ottokar, *Studi comunali e fiorentini*, Florence, 1948.

¹⁶ Manetti's account is taken from A. Manetti, *The Life of Brunelleschi* (H. Saalman), 1970, pgs. 120-127. Manetti's *Vita* is composed of three separate manuscripts. The first is a fifteenth-century manuscript attributed to the hand of Antonio di Tuccio di Marabottino Manetti himself. The *terminus ante quem* for the first manuscript is 1497, the year of Manetti's death and a decade after the completion of the church. The second manuscript, known as the "Pistoiese Codex", is by a sixteenth-century hand, and was discovered in 1896; while the third manuscript is part of a miscellaneous codex of sixteenth or early seventeenth-century copies of texts relating to Florence. For a detailed history and dating of Manetti's *Vita*, see Manetti (Saalman), 1970, pgs. 3-17.

¹⁷ For the Italian translation of Fabriczy's work used for this study, see C. Fabriczy, *Filippo Brunelleschi: La Vita e Le Opere* (a cura di Anna Maria Poma), Florence, 1979.

January 19, 1433[34].¹⁸ Although Fabriczy was dubious of the biographer's chronology, he claimed that Manetti's biographical account did provide us with the following information:

- a. the existence of a Brunelleschi model for Santo Spirito
- b. that construction began during the architect's lifetime
- c. the relation of the site of the present church to the old church

Oddly, Fabriczy would anticipate a consistent trend in the Santo Spirito literature - that is, authors selectively confirming or disclaiming Manetti's biography in order to support their own proposed construction history scenarios.¹⁹ In his 1907 "Brunelleschiana", Fabriczy would publish the archival documentation cited in his earlier work, as well as much of what is still today considered to be the archival basis for the construction history of Santo Spirito.²⁰

Carlo Botto's "L'edificazione della Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Firenze", of 1931, still remains the most definitive study of the construction history of the church. Not only did Botto create a solid, chronological framework from an abundance of mainly unpublished documentation, he also drew specific conclusions as to how these documents reveal the step-by-step process of construction. Although Botto incorporates 1428 as the beginning date of the project, he also comments on the general lack of documentary material from this period. Botto wrote "the period following this nomination [1434] is one of the most scarcely documented, yet one of the most interesting because it directly concerns Brunelleschi's activity."²¹ Botto's description provides a succinct summary of this early period of construction. Instead of an abundance of documentation accompanying a period of presumably intense building activity that would normally occur at the beginning of a building project, what remains today are relatively few documents concerning the logistical aspects of

¹⁸ C. Fabriczy (Poma), *Filippo Brunelleschi*, 1979, 76. This document was later published in C. Fabriczy, "Brunelleschiana", *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, 1907, 43.

¹⁹ It should be remembered that Fabriczy's book was written before the discoveries of the two additional manuscripts included in Manetti's *Vita*.

²⁰ Fabriczy, 1907, 1-82.

²¹ C. Botto, "L'Edificazione della Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Firenze", *Rivista d'Arte*, 1931, 489: "Il periodo che segue questa nomina è dei più scarsamente documentati, mentre sarebbe dei più interessanti perchè riguarda direttamente l'attività del Brunellesco."

rebuilding. In his “Filippo Brunelleschi: Capital Studies” of 1958, Howard Saalman wrote that “amid a scattering of unrevealing documents concerning the period 1436-1445, the most useful and abundant information is provided by the Pseudo-Manetti.”²² In his *Brunelleschi: Forma e Ragione*, published in 1964, Eugenio Luporini returned to the question of the chronology of the early construction history of Santo Spirito. Although the author relies heavily on Manetti’s *Vita*, he was the first scholar to closely read, transcribe and publish the entire corpus of the then extant archival material related to the early construction history of the church. He believed that the initial contact between patron and architect had occurred between 1428 and 1432, and that most scholarship had established 1436 as the *terminus ante quem* for the beginning of the church. Luporini summarized previous scholarship as follows:

Table 1:

Author	Date of Publication	Initiation Date
Geymuller	1892	1433
Fabriczy	1892	1433
Folnesics	1915	none, but little done by 1445
Botto	1931	1432-35
Heydenreich	1931	foundations laid by 1436
Salmi	1936	1435-36
Argan	1946	construction decided 1428, church projected in 1432
Gori-Montanelli	1957	1444

Luporini claimed “from 1436 to 1445, the only documents relative to the church are related to certain provisions made by the commune from a salt tax to benefit the friars of Santo Spirito.”²³ With the qualified exception of Fabriczy, Luporini claimed that all other scholars had misread these documents. Particular criticism fell on Botto and Salmi, but also in part, on Heydenreich, Paatz and Saalman for their subjective interpretations of formal, juridical

²² H. Saalman, “Filippo Brunelleschi: Capital Studies”, *Art Bulletin*, XL, 1958, 129. The “Pseudo- Manetti” to whom Saalman is referring is the transcriber of the second manuscript included in Manetti’s *Vita*.

²³ E. Luporini, *Brunelleschi. Forma e Ragione*, Milan, 1964, 151. These documents, originally published by Fabriczy and Botto, are transcribed and included in Luporini’s appendix as documents 2, 4, and 5.

language in attempting to make it adhere to their own proposed construction histories.

I believe that the general conclusion that can be drawn from this early period is that certain scholars have conveniently adopted biographical material as actual and factual documentation, while interpreting the actual extant archival documentation as an approximate account of the building history. What the documents from this period reveal is that the *Opera* of Santo Spirito did not petition for communal funding until 1436, and that those funds were not received until 1439.²⁴ How or why would construction have begun without financial appropriations? I believe the answer is that it did not. Those scholars who adhere to Manetti's 1428 date have attempted to push the date of Santo Spirito into an earlier part of the architect's career, sometime around the early to mid-1430s.²⁵ A starting date of 1428 would allow a greater opportunity for Brunelleschi to have been directly involved in the project. It would also fit the church perfectly into the "transitional" period proposed by the Heydenreichian model.

The first part of my research has focused on extricating the existing documentary evidence from the biographical material, and from this evidence, identifying the objective sequence of events. I disagree with Saalman's description of "unrevealing" early documentation. Instead, I believe the issue is that the documentation is telling scholars what they do not want to hear, and that is that construction on Santo Spirito began significantly later than the biographer would have us believe. Moreover, while previous scholars have been logically focusing their archival searches on the chronological period between 1428 and 1446 (Brunelleschi's death) in hopes of discovering new evidence to shed light on this early period of construction, it is actually the archival material concerning the subsequent period of construction that is most informative and telling.

²⁴ For the document of 1436, see Fabriczy, 1907, 46; for the document of 1439, see Saalman, 1993, 347.

²⁵ Later scholarship on Santo Spirito also incorporates the 1428 date as the beginning of the process of the construction of the new church. See F. Quinterio, "Un tempio per la Repubblica: la chiesa dei SS. Maria, Mateo e dello Spirito Santo in Firenze. Dal primo nucleo duecentesco al progetto brunelleschiano", *Quaderni dell'istituto di storia dell'architettura*, I, 1992, 307; see also Saalman, 1992, 343.

Phase 2: Architectural Inheritance, 1446-1471

The death of Brunelleschi on April 15, 1446, is the next critical date in the construction history of Santo Spirito. How much of the church had been completed by the time of the architect's death? Again, most scholarship relies on Manetti's account, which claims "he [Brunelleschi] began it and founded some chapels and erected a part of it in his day in accordance with his intention."²⁶ Both Fabriczy and Botto maintain that by the time of the architect's death, both the foundations and a significant part of the perimeter wall had been completed. Fabriczy first published a document dated April 5, 1446 (ten days before the architect's death), which recorded what Fabriczy interpreted as a payment of 90 florins for the delivery of the first of five columns to the worksite.²⁷ Both he and Botto interpreted this document as implying that workers were about to begin the elevation of a part of the church. Luporini later correctly pointed out that this document recorded neither the payment for nor the delivery of a column, but merely stipulated an order on the part of the *Opera* for five columns for a total cost of 90 florins.²⁸ Furthermore, a later document of January 1447 indicates that the *Opera* would pay an account of 40 florins for the columns, but only when the first finished column had arrived at the work site, which it obviously had not.²⁹ Giuseppe Richa was the first to publish a document nearly three centuries ago, which is dated May 23, 1454, describing how the first column of Santo Spirito had been raised.³⁰ Eight years had elapsed between the ordering and erection of the first column.

Leonardo Benevolo believed that the column cited by Richa was raised in the center of the eastern arm of the church. **(Fig. 36)** In his "Indagine sul Santo Spirito di Brunelleschi", published in 1968, Benevolo recorded the results of his physical examination and measurement of the church.³¹ The author's main objective was to establish that Brunelleschi employed a modular system in

²⁶ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 127.

²⁷ Fabriczy, 1907, 51

²⁸ Jill Burke mistakenly interprets this document as recording the erection of the first column at the worksite: "In May of this year [1446], the first column of the new building was erected..." (J. Burke, *Changing Patrons: Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence*, University Park, PA, 2004, 68.)

²⁹ Luporini, 1964, 236, doc.'s 6 and 7

³⁰ G. Richa, *Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine*, IX, Florence, 1761, 13.

³¹ L. Benevolo, "Indagini su Santo Spirito", *Quaderni dell'istituto di storia dell'architettura*, XV, 85-90, Rome, 1968, 1-52.

designing the church, but he also used his architectural evidence to draw conclusions concerning the construction history of the church. Benevolo believed that this first column raised in 1454 was flanked soon thereafter by two other columns, separating the side aisle from the nave in the eastern arm of the church, creating a sort of “sample” section for the rest of the church a decade after the architect’s death; and that the delay, or time elapsed between the ordering and raising of the columns, may have been caused by the delay in the arrival of the architectural materials.³²

This documentary evidence indicates that construction had progressed to the point of elevation, necessitating the ordering of columns. It also implies that Brunelleschi almost certainly designed the first columns for the church since they were ordered before his death. But the fact that eight years passed before the first column was erected either indicates that work had not progressed very far along by the architect’s death, or that it slowed down afterwards. In either case, it is certain that after Brunelleschi’s death, actual construction, and all the decisions that were faced through the completion of the church were left in the hands of lesser masters. Drawing on archival sources, Fabriczy records the rapid succession of 3 *capomaestri* between 1454-1461 - Antonio di Manetti Ciaccheri, Giulio Sandrini, and Domenico da Gaiole.³³ New information presented in Chapter II shall shed significant light on the roles of these three immediate successors, whose contributions at Santo Spirito have hitherto been unknown or largely overlooked.

Limited archival material has led most scholars to overlook this crucial “middle” period of construction. The most important piece of archival information from this period is a *Libretto*, or “small notebook”, recording the deliberations of the *Opera* from 1446 to 1461. Although most Santo Spirito scholars have referred to or cited a handful of entries in this *Libretto*, to date, the vast majority of the information contained therein has been ignored. One reason for this omission, I believe, is the particularly difficult fifteenth-century calligraphy. As a part of this research project, I have been able to make a full transcription of the *Libretto* and consequently a reading and interpretation of the

³² Benevolo, 1968, 49.

³³ Fabriczy (Poma), 1979, 254, n.77.

information it contains.³⁴ This unpublished information sheds considerable and critical light upon this particularly murky period of construction, and perhaps even more importantly, on the period immediately preceding it.

The following decade, 1461-1471, has been entirely neglected by scholarship. In his monograph on Brunelleschi, Saalman wrote:

... there are few open questions concerning the building history of the church of Santo Spirito. Excepting the decade from 1460 to 1470, sufficient building records survive, allowing us to follow the planning, financing and construction of the church from its beginnings in the mid-1430s to its completion in the 1480s.³⁵

Yet, a majority of the scholarship on Santo Spirito circumvents the issue of the immediate aftermath of Brunelleschi. This is due in large part to the fact that, as Saalman indicates, there is essentially no known archival material relevant to the decade between 1460 and 1470. But an almost entirely overlooked archival source that meticulously records the construction history and finances of the building project between 1471 and 1481 not only presents a vivid picture of construction during this period, but also, like the earlier *Libretto*, a succinct retroactive summary of what went on beforehand.

Phase 3: "... the errors made and consented to by others," 1471-1487

The event that marks the beginning of the period of greatest construction activity all the way through to the completion of the church, and is scrupulously recorded in an extraordinary amount of detailed archival documentation, is the fire that occurred in the old church of Santo Spirito in 1471.³⁶ In fact, Giorgio Vasari erroneously identifies this event as the original stimulus for the construction of the new church – twenty-five years after the death of Brunelleschi!³⁷ Botto was the first to dispel the myth that the destruction by fire of the old church, and its consequent impracticability, may have been a wake-up call for the *Opera* that after thirty years, it was finally time to complete their new church. The document describing both the fire and its consequences,

³⁴ For the full transcription of the *Libretto*, see Appendix A, Doc. 6.

³⁵ Saalman, 1993, 339.

³⁶ For the documents concerning the fire in the old church, see Botto, 1931, 482.

³⁷ G. Vasari (G. Milanesi) *Le Vite*, 1878, II, 380.

which was first published by Botto, indicates that the old church was damaged but not destroyed, and therefore could still have been used.³⁸ In fact, a century before Botto's study, Giovanni Gaye had already published a document from the government *provisioni*, dated June 20, 1471, which discussed communal funding for the repair of the old church.³⁹ Yet it seems an odd coincidence that only a decade and a half after the fire in the old church, the new church of Santo Spirito was completed. While not the motive for starting the new church, the fire certainly served to give greater urgency to the new church project.

Manetti's final, fatalistic words in his biography of Brunelleschi are "it was a beautiful thing which, with the projection of the material towards the exterior, had no peer in Christendom, not even with the errors made and consented to by others."⁴⁰ Brunelleschi scholars have, rightly I believe, interpreted these words as suggesting that the present church deviates significantly from the architect's original plans. Manetti himself identifies the first of these formal deviations when he refers to "the projection of the material towards the exterior."⁴¹ All Brunelleschi scholarship concurs that the radiating semicircular chapels were intended to delineate the exterior perimeter wall of the church with their curvilinear convex forms. **(Fig. 10 & 11)** Mario Salmi was the first to examine this particular aspect of Brunelleschi's plan, and to propose possible sources of inspiration.⁴² He mentions Orvieto Cathedral with its projecting, although not contiguous, chapels, St. Mark's basilica in Venice for its centrality, and Siena Cathedral for its crossing corner chapels.⁴³ **(Fig.'s 12 & 13)** Salmi seems to have overlooked a much more local source of inspiration, namely, Florence Cathedral with its fifteen radiating chapels that give it its distinctive

³⁸ Botto, 1931, 482.

³⁹ C. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, Firenze, 1839, 570.

⁴⁰ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 126.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² M.Salmi, "Nota sulla Chiesa di Santo Spirito", *Atti del primo congresso nazionale di storia dell'architettura*, Florence, 1938, 159-164.

⁴³ Ibid., 162-163. More recently, Matthew Cohen discusses the similarities in design between Santo Spirito and Milan cathedral. See M. Cohen, "The Lombard Connection: northern influences in the Basilicas of San Lorenzo and Santo Spirito in Florence", *Annali di architettura, Rivista del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio di Vicenza*, 2009, 38.

“flower” form.⁴⁴ **(Fig. 14)** Stegmann first noticed that 3 chapels on the eastern side of the eastern crossing arm of Santo Spirito had exterior cornices just below their dome extrados, not visible today due to the rectilinear perimeter wall around the church.⁴⁵ A fragment of a cornice is still visible today at the base of a chapel at the northeastern corner of the northern arm. **(Fig. 15)** Benevolo thought that this external ornamentation indicates that Brunelleschi was planning on a visible, continuous external cornice at both the base and at the top of the chapels, and that this is, therefore, the area of the church where construction began.⁴⁶ Although it has hitherto been unknown when or by whom the decision was made to cover up the external forms of these four chapels, and to definitively abandon the plan for extruding curvilinear forms with a linear mantling wall, the evidence that will be presented in Chapter III clearly reveals that the decision was made in 1473 under the direction of the *capomaestro*, Giovanni di Mariano, known as *Lo Scorbacchia*.⁴⁷ The motivation for the decision appears clearly to have been functional and not aesthetic. Saalman wrote “The decisive factor in the decision to construct the mantling wall, however, may well have been the unsuitability of the semicircular chapels for the most important function of patronage: adequate burial space.”⁴⁸ In addition to providing patrons with additional burial space, the construction of the mantling wall was also a means of facilitating construction, as it was significantly less complicated and time consuming to build than the curvilinear, decorated exterior walls of the chapels.

In August of 1478, the nave roof was built. In his *Brunelleschi* of 1962, Paolo Sanpaolesi first proposed the theory of a barrel-vaulted nave covering for Santo Spirito, instead of its present flat, painted timber ceiling.⁴⁹ **(Fig. 16)** He argued that the hemispherical side-aisle vaults, constructed with herringbone masonry, suggest that either a coffered or ribbed barrel vault could have been possible over the nave. In fact, he claimed that the entire “organic structure” of the first order of the elevation actually requires a barrel vault, as evidenced by

⁴⁴ For Santa Maria del Fiore, see T. Verdon, *La Piazza del Duomo, il Battistero di San Giovanni, la Cattedrale di Santa Maria del Fiore e il Campanile di Giotto*, Florence, 2015.

⁴⁵ Fabriczy (Poma), 1979, 210, note 1

⁴⁶ Benevolo, 1968, 38.

⁴⁷ For the discussion of the construction of the mantling wall, see Chapter III, 2.

⁴⁸ Saalman, 1993, 364,

⁴⁹ Sanpaolesi, 1962, 77.

the “unhappy resolution” of the present flat roof with the transverse crossing arches, which he also criticizes for “their lack of proportion.”⁵⁰ **(Fig. 9)** Sanpaolesi believed that the only way to insert Santo Spirito into the stylistic evolution of the architect is to imagine the church with barrel vaults over all four arms. Benevolo later discovered the presence of diagonal buttresses between the domes of some of the chapels along the eastern transept arm (which is the area presumably begun in or around Brunelleschi’s lifetime), which he believes may also suggest a building predisposed for large barrel vaults.⁵¹ Quinterio described these diagonal supports as “...rudimentary buttresses which would have been repeated all around the church at regular intervals matching the bays of the aisles and serving to check the outward thrust of the large vault.”⁵² Quinterio’s logic was that if a barrel vault solution was abandoned in the later phase of construction, so too were the supports that it necessitated. This would explain why these buttresses were not constructed around the entirety of the church.

The last and best-documented controversy concerning the completion of Santo Spirito is related to the number of doors to be realized in the façade of the church. Fabriczy first published the archival documentation regarding this controversy, and believed it was another inevitable consequence of Brunelleschi’s “approximate” models.⁵³ In 1482, the *Opera* was prepared to begin the construction of the façade wall of the church. It was decided that three doors would be incorporated into this façade, with the central nave door one and a half times larger than the flanking side-aisle doors.⁵⁴ An immediate protest went up, as some people instead preferred a four, equal-sized door solution for the façade. In fact, a certain “maestro Ludovicho” presented hearsay evidence that the famous mathematician and friend of Brunelleschi, Paolo Toscanelli, had claimed Brunelleschi had originally planned four doors.⁵⁵ The debate became so intense, that it was brought before the *Signoria*, or the

⁵⁰ Ibid., 79.

⁵¹ Benevolo, 1968, 49

⁵² F. Quinterio, “Interior and Exterior Elevations of Santo Spirito”, in E. Battisti, *Filippo Brunelleschi: the Complete Works*, New York, 1981, 221.

⁵³ Fabriczy, 1907, 53.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid. For the controversy concerning the final number of doors in the façade wall, see Chapter III, 2.

executive city council of Florence.⁵⁶ Perhaps, even more importantly, considering the political situation in Florence at the end of the fifteenth century, it was brought to the attention of Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici, known as *il Magnifico*. In a famous letter written to *il Magnifico*, dated May 15, 1486, Giuliano da Sangallo championed the cause of the four-door solution.⁵⁷ In an even more celebrated drawing of the plan of Santo Spirito, Sangallo not only included four doors in the façade, but also adds a column at the center of the nave, distanced one bay behind the façade.⁵⁸ **(Fig. 17)** Botto was the first to describe Sangallo's configuration as an "interior narthex" solution, which would give the nave a length twice that of its width.⁵⁹ Saalman comments that Sangallo's is the earliest surviving plan of Santo Spirito, and may not be a simple "idealized plan" but a drawing based directly from Brunelleschi's model.⁶⁰ Whether the debate was the result of uncertainty regarding Brunelleschi's original plan, or a major aesthetic variant on the part of later architects is still unclear. In either case, in 1487, the three-door façade and the church were finally completed.

Nearly all of the archival information from this last period of construction is recorded in two chronologically overlapping manuscripts entitled the *Libro dei Debitori e Creditori dal 1471-1481* and the *Libro dei Debitori e Creditori dal 1477-1496*.⁶¹ While a majority of the scholarship treating Santo Spirito has directly or indirectly made use of the latter archival source, the earlier debit-credit record book has been almost entirely overlooked. While both record books are rich in information dealing with the day-to-day activity at the worksite, as well as the dealings of the *Opera*, it is the records in the *Libro 1471-1481* that are crucial in assessing the state of construction up to 1471, or the year before which next to nothing is known regarding the actual state of construction of the church. In addition to the paramount role that this archival source plays in completing the previously fragmentary construction history of Santo Spirito, it

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ W. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, Frankfurt, 1940-1954, V, 169, note 36

⁵⁸ Drawing in C. Huelsen, *Il Libro di Giuliano da Sangallo codice Vaticano Barberiniano Latino 4424*, Leipzig, 1910, plate 14.

⁵⁹ Botto, 1931, 507.

⁶⁰ Saalman, 1993, 376. His reasoning is based on Sangallo's use of squares in the drawing to represent columns and half-column responds. Saalman suggests that this "wooden" character of the drawing may imply that Sangallo was actually drawing from a wooden model.

⁶¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127 and ASF, CRS, 122, 128.

also represents an extremely detailed “cross-section” of the finances and the progress of construction of the church in a determinate chronological period. Drawing from this rich source of information, a very vivid picture of the worksite, or *cantiere*, at Santo Spirito emerges.⁶² But more than just a means to approximate the progression of construction of the church, the *Libro* is also a chronicle of workers’ names and nicknames, professions, materials, camaraderie, celebrations, and controversies. In other words, the information in the *Libro* directly provides the specific *cantiere* of Santo Spirito with an identity - an identity that does much to expand our general knowledge of the Renaissance *cantiere*.

The detailed accounts of expenditures for labor and materials in the *Libro* also permit the approximation of the costs of construction over a nearly nine-year period, which represents nearly one fourth of the entire building history of the church. Combined with the recorded appropriations received by the *Opera* in the records of the *Mercanzia*, which are discussed in Chapter I, a very concise case study of the finances of Renaissance church construction also emerges. As Richard Goldthwaite wrote in his *The Building of Renaissance Florence* in 1980, “Despite the long tradition of scholarship... surprisingly little is known about the economics of building - about the cost of putting buildings up and about the impact such expenditures had on the economy as a whole.”⁶³ I believe that my research contributes significantly to filling this historical void described by Goldthwaite nearly thirty years ago.

“Santo Spirito: A Social History”

In 1979, Lauro Martines wrote:

... one can say of Italian Renaissance cities ‘Tell me who owns the imposing *palazzi* or let me study the family chapels in the different churches and I will tell you who the princes, oligarchs, and rich men are and who their patron saints’.⁶⁴

⁶² The template for this aspect of my research is Goldthwaite’s study of the typical medieval and Renaissance Florentine *cantiere* in Goldthwaite, 1980.

⁶³ Goldthwaite, 1980, 115.

⁶⁴ L. Martines, *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy*, New York, 1979, 241.

In the quarter of Santo Spirito in Florence in the fifteenth century, those “rich men” owned the chapels in Santo Spirito, and most of those chapel owners also served on the church’s *Opera*. As *operai*, they could exercise their power on a national level by championing the cause of communal funding for their church in the traditionally parsimonious councils of Palazzo Signoria, and then enjoy the spoils of victory on a local level with the acquisition of the rights of patronage (*ius patronatus*) over the privileged chapels in their quarter church.⁶⁵ Saalman describes this process:

It was characteristic of the great Florentine church building projects of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that the patricians directly concerned exerted all political means at their command to obtain communal support for the building of the churches in their quarters. Success in such efforts was commensurate with - and a direct expression of - the political support the quarter could muster in the councils of the Signoria.⁶⁶

Although this was a social and political ritual typical of the public building projects in Florence, Santo Spirito was one of the last great examples of communal and corporate patronage before the onset of the Medici hegemony.

The patricians of Santo Spirito were members of the city’s republican elite. Families such as the Frescobaldi, Capponi, Nasi, Pitti, Antinori, and Corbinelli were those that lobbied in the Signoria, sat on the *Opera*, and purchased the rights of patronage over the church’s many chapels. Although these names appear repeatedly amongst the building records of the church, few scholars have examined them beyond the context of the construction history. Individual family case studies, such as F.W. Kent’s profile of the Capponi family in his *Household and Lineage*, or Jill Burke’s study of the role of patronage using two Santo Spirito families, the Del Pugliese and the Nasi, have provided a clear social identity for these families.⁶⁷ Other scholars, such as Nicholas Eckstein, in his *The District of the Green Dragon: Neighborhood Life and Social Change in Renaissance Florence*, published in 1995, have created a social

⁶⁵ For the seminal works on this socio-political exchange regarding the neighborhood, see D.V. and F. W. Kent, *Neighbours and Neighbourhood in Renaissance Florence: The District of the Red Lion in the Fifteenth Century*, Florence, 1982; regarding the structure of Medieval Florentine government, see N. Rubinstein, *The Palazzo Vecchio*, Oxford, 1995.

⁶⁶ Saalman, 1993, 342.

⁶⁷ Kent, 1977; Burke, 2004.

identity for an entire *gonfalone*, or “administrative ward” within the Santo Spirito quarter.⁶⁸ But what remains to be written is how the social identity of the entire quarter is reflected and represented in the architectural disposition of its most important church, and how that church, in turn, reflects the social hierarchy within its quarter.

I believe that the political, social and artistic corporation known as the *Opera* is, in the case of the quarter of Santo Spirito, the embodiment of that social identity. The *Opera* was the works committee responsible for the administrative, financial, logistical, and artistic aspects of a building project. Its members, or *operai*, were elected or appointed from the leading guilds of the city and/or families of a *quartiere* either by the members of the religious order or by the parishioners of a particular church. Often times these same *operai* simultaneously sat on the various communal councils and could therefore, theoretically, facilitate the appropriation of public funding for their very own neighborhood building projects. At the same time, the *Opera* made the commune’s presence felt at a local level. Since Peggy Haines pioneering study *Opera: Carattere e ruolo delle fabbriche cittadine fino all’inizio dell’età moderna* was published in 1996, we have begun to understand the complex and subtle role of the *Opera* as mediator between commune and neighborhood. Haines describes the *Opera* as “...the extension of the will of the commune.”⁶⁹ The success of an *Opera* in obtaining and securing public money was commensurate with the importance of a certain guild, or quarter, or parish within the city. The *Opera* also expressed its influence locally through patronage within the very buildings they administered. In addition to communal subsidies, a large portion of a church’s finances derived from the investment of secular or religious organizations, families and individuals in private chapels within the church. The pattern of chapel patronage was traditionally a direct reflection of social hierarchy. Burke described this pattern as “church space encoded in strict hierarchy and the most prized area for chapels and tombs nearest the high altar.”⁷⁰ Considering the permanency of certain families in the *Opera* of Santo

⁶⁸ N. Eckstein, *The District of the Green Dragon: Neighbourhood Life and Social Change in Renaissance Florence*, Florence, 1995.

⁶⁹ M. Haines, *Opera: Carattere e ruolo delle fabbriche cittadine fino all’inizio dell’età moderna*, Florence, 1996, 280.

⁷⁰ J. Burke, “Visualizing Neighborhood in Renaissance Florence: Santo Spirito and Santa Maria del Carmine”, *Journal of Urban History*, 2006, 699.

Spirito, it would seem obvious to whom this “prized area” should belong. Goldthwaite was the first to note “at Santo Spirito, there is a remarkable continuity of men in the two-year tenures [as *operai*], and some members were replaced only on death.”⁷¹ Burke points out that between the years 1468 and 1483, the same five families - Corbinelli, Frescobaldi, Guicciardini, Nasi and Ridolfi - provided the five *operai* of the church.⁷² If we add the names Capponi, Pitti and Biliotti to Burke’s list, that would give us eight families competing for the church’s main chapels. But the absolutely unique situation at Santo Spirito is that it is unclear just which are in fact the most important chapels.

Brunelleschi’s singular “centralized” design for the church, which gave no chapel axial emphasis, nearly eliminated the privilege of altar proximity, and did not allow for a *cappella maggiore* (high chapel). Saalman poetically describes the situation:

Brunelleschi’s design for the new Santo Spirito accorded with Florence’s most cherished political myth, namely of a community of equals, in which no family, no individual could claim special power or distinction.⁷³

So just how was social hierarchy going to be expressed in the church? Burke is the only scholar to have addressed this problem, albeit to a limited extent. She rightly pointed out that the most desirable chapels were those in the transept, nearest the high altar, and that the chapels furthest from the high altar were ceded to men not of the *Opera* and of lower social status.⁷⁴ What Burke describes as the “transept” should instead be referred to as the eastern and western arms of the church. I agree with Saalman’s observation that “there is no true transept added to the traditional nave in this project.”⁷⁵ But the fact of the matter is that if we include the northern crossing arm (*testata*) and the first two bays of the southern nave arm (nave) of the church as well, there would be twenty chapels, nearly all of which are equidistant to the altar. (**Fig. 8**) Only the eight corner chapels enjoy a minimal greater proximity to the high altar, but their irregular forms and awkward window resolution made them slightly less desirable than the “full” chapels around the crossing. So if traditional

⁷¹ Goldthwaite, 1980, 94.

⁷² Burke, 2006, 696.

⁷³ Saalman, 1993, 340.

⁷⁴ Burke, 2006, 700.

⁷⁵ Saalman, 1993, 342.

architectural hierarchy was irreconcilable, patrons sought other means by which to express social hierarchy. Burke points out the most obvious strategy, that is that families such as the Frescobaldi, Capponi, and Corbinelli purchased groups of chapels instead.⁷⁶ What I like to refer to as chapel *consortia* was an effective means of expressing social status, particularly so if the chapels were contiguous like the four Corbinelli chapels that monopolize the western arm of the church and include the chapel of the Holy Sacrament. **(Fig. 18, Chapels 11-14)**

Yet there is an even more direct method of establishing social hierarchy through chapel distribution, and that is the order in which the chapels were actually sold. Scholars have not explored this aspect because the records of the concessions of the first chapels are contained in the aforementioned unpublished *Libretto*, which records the *Opera* history from 1446 to 1461, and has hitherto been unexploited. Although the information contained therein will not completely resolve the question of the “democratic” disposition of the chapels around the crossing of the church, it does present a clear picture of those families that received precedence in the choice of their chapels because of the roles they played in realizing the church. Moreover, it was through “patron primacy” that patrons ultimately projected their church patronage into the urban dimension. By being the first to purchase the rights over chapels, families like the Frescobaldi and Capponi could choose chapels closest to their properties and homes; and what they lacked in terms of proximity to the altar inside the church could be compensated for in terms of the proximity of their properties and homes to the church and chapels respectively. An extraordinary example of this is the private viewing window in the Frescobaldi palace, which looks directly through their chapel in the northwestern corner of the church. **(Fig. 19)** Equally important is the fact that Santo Spirito is one of the few churches in Florence where the coats of arms of the chapel patrons are displayed on the outside of their chapels as well. **(Fig. 20)** This urban projection of religious patronage would make the chapels on the street-facing eastern side of the church more appealing, as the western chapels face into the Augustinian convent. But more than just greater visibility, it is important to note to whom these arms would have been visible. The eastern side of the church faces what Goldthwaite describes as “...the most patrician of all streets” in

⁷⁶ Burke, 2006, 700.

Florence - the Via Maggio.⁷⁷ Burke points out the *operai* of Santo Spirito generally lived on the eastern end of via del Fondaccio (presently via Santo Spirito) or on via Maggio.⁷⁸ So, clearly the social hierarchy within the quarter was contributing significantly in shaping its quarter church.

2.) Themes, Structure and Critical Sources

The first chapter of this thesis focuses specifically on the chronological period between 1428 and 1446, which represents the earliest stage of the construction history of the new church of Santo Spirito, and the period of Brunelleschi's direct involvement in the project. Part 1 of this chapter examines the pre-history of the Brunelleschian project, presenting the history of the "old church" of Santo Spirito, in order to establish its physical, social, and historical relationship to the "new." The second part of this chapter then examines Antonio di Tuccio Manetti's fifteenth-century biographical account of the early construction history of Santo Spirito, which has become the narrative template for a majority of the scholarship concerning the church, and presents a comparative analysis of the biographical information and the documentary evidence. The final section provides an objective reappraisal of this stage of the construction history based on both published and unpublished archival documentation. The objectives of this chapter are to establish a start date and/or commission date for the church; to establish the existence, specificity and date of a Brunelleschi model for the church; and to present a definitive historical account of the early building history.

The second chapter of this thesis investigates the chronological period between 1446 and 1471, which begins with Brunelleschi's death and represents the "middle" stage of the construction history. Particular emphasis is given to the substantial amount of unpublished documentation concerning *Opera* activity and communal disbursements specifically concerning this chronological period and recorded in the *Libretto delle Deliberazioni degli operai di Santo Spirito dal 1439-1461*, which I introduce in this chapter. This crucial document is fully transcribed in "Appendix A, doc. 6" of this text. The first part of this chapter presents this new archival information, which describes the machinations of the *Opera* during this specific period in time, and which reveals a great deal not

⁷⁷ Goldthwaite, 1980, 25.

⁷⁸ Burke, 2006, 698.

only about the inner logistics of this institution, but also how the specific *Opera* of Santo Spirito struggled to collect both the public and private funding needed to realize its church.

The second part of this chapter addresses the most significant record of the *Libretto*, which is the concession of the first eleven family chapels within the church. Analyzing this previously unknown information is the first crucial step in assessing both the relative importance of the families that helped to build the church, and the significant monetary contribution represented by private chapel sales. The subsequent part of this chapter addresses the social hierarchy within the quarter of Santo Spirito and how it is visibly manifest in the quarter church through the *ius patronatus* exercised by certain families over chapels. Since Brunelleschi's particular "centralized" conception of the church rendered traditional architectural hierarchy obsolete, I examine how the patrons of the church sought other means to express social hierarchy. Ancestral patronage and membership in the *Opera* were the key factors in determining chapel ownership within the new church. That nearly all of these chapel patrons would reside in only three of the four wards of the quarter reflects a rather particular social reality in the Florentine *Oltrarno*. The final section of this chapter addresses the question of the relative state of completion of the church at and immediately after Brunelleschi's death in April 1446, as well as to examine the role of Brunelleschi's successors and their respective contributions to the project. The objective of this chapter is to reassess this entire middle period of construction, from historical, social and architectural perspectives, in the light of the significant new archival material introduced here.

The final chapter examines the well-documented and last stage of the construction history of the church between 1471 and 1487, which is recorded in the almost entirely unpublished records of the *Libro dei Debitori e Creditori dal 1471-1481*, as well as the well-known *Libro dei Debitori e Creditori dal 1477-1496*. The first part of this chapter focuses on the meticulous accounts of the finances of the building project for a nine-and-a-half-year period in the earlier *Libro*. Through the analysis of expenditures for both building materials and labor, and then a more specific division of costs regarding various types of materials and laborers, a clear economic history for the church emerges. These costs can then be reconciled with the funds at the disposal of the *Opera* from both public and private sources. Further comparative analysis between the

finances at Santo Spirito and those of other private and communal projects in Florence, such as the Palazzo Strozzi and the Hospital of San Paolo, reveal both striking similarities and differences with an ecclesiastical building project.

The second section of this chapter instead addresses the construction history during this specific period using the extraordinarily detailed records of the earlier *Libro* (1471-1481). This source provides an almost daily account of the building activity at Santo Spirito, and also presents an extremely vivid picture of a late fifteenth-century Renaissance *cantiere* in Florence. Combined with the information recorded in the later *Libro* (1477-1496), the documents record construction all the way through to the completion of the church and present revealing information regarding the three most controversial stylistic issues concerning the overall appearance of the church, as well as the architects and circumstances responsible for them. These stylistic issues can be summarized as follows:

- 1.) the decision to abandon the exterior projecting semi-circular chapels, and the chronology for the construction of the mantling wall that encloses the church today
- 2.) the construction of flat ceilings over the arms of the church instead of barrel vaults
- 3.) the number of doors originally intended for the façade of the church (three or four), and how this confusion may have drastically altered the “centrality” of the overall design of the building

The objectives of this chapter are to present significant new research regarding the finances of ecclesiastical buildings in Renaissance Florence; to provide an identity for a Renaissance *cantiere*; and to present a definitive conclusion to the construction history of the church of Santo Spirito.

Overall, this thesis will set out a revised chronology for the construction history of Santo Spirito. It will also reconcile this chronology with the biographical narrative provided by Antonio di Tuccio Manetti. The major findings that are examined in this thesis are the significant roles played by the *Opera*, the chapel patrons and the *cantiere* in the realization of the church, as well as a financial analysis of a distinct period of the building project. A majority of these findings are drawn from previously unexploited archival sources that I have come across in the course of my research.

Chapter I:
Initiation Date and Attribution (1428-1446)

1.) The Old Church of Santo Spirito

In 1250, the rector of the Augustinian convent of San Matteo a Lepore, located in Arcetri in the southern hills of Florence, purchased 10 *staiera* of land in a locality referred to as “Casellina” or “Cuculia” in the heart of what was then known as the *Sextus Ultrarni* of Florence.¹ One year later, 3 more *staiera* of land in the same area were donated to the order. Then, in 1252, construction began on the first church of Santo Spirito. The church was dedicated to “the Virgin Mary, all Saints and the Holy Spirit.” The decision of the Augustinians to establish themselves in the *Ultrarni* was strategic. The rapid construction of new bridges across the Arno River - Ponte alla Carraia in 1220, Ponte del Rubaconte (now delle Grazie) in 1237, and Ponte Santa Trinità in 1252 - was quickly transforming a nearly isolated colony of the city into a thriving urban district.² By 1258, the entire *Ultrarni* would be enclosed within a defensive perimeter wall, physically marking the area’s integration into the city. A demographic explosion also accompanied the intense re-urbanization. By the early fourteenth century, the area was the most densely populated in the city.³

The *Ultrarni* also represented the only area in Florence still not marked by a major mendicant order. By 1221, the Dominicans had already established themselves just outside the western walls of city, where Santa Maria Novella still stands today.⁴ The Franciscans had instead established themselves in 1228 amongst the city’s poorest citizens in the Eastern area of city, along the

¹ For the history of the old church of Santo Spirito, see Quinterio, 1992, 305-316.

² The construction of the Santa Trinita bridge was funded by the great patriarch of the Frescobaldi family, Lamberto Frescobaldi, who was the ancestor of future *operaio* and chapel patron in the new church, Stoldo Frescobaldi. For Frescobaldi architectural patronage in the quarter of Santo Spirito, see Chapter III, 3. For the urban development of Florence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see L. Spiller, “‘Ut Civitas Amplietur’: Studies in Florentine urban development, 1282-1400” (PhD thesis, Columbia University), 1987.

³ Quinterio, 1992, 305.

⁴ For the history of the Dominican Order in Florence, see A. Salucci, “‘Florentia’: città sacra e città profana, I domenicani a Firenze tra XIII e XIV secolo: una presenza religiosa e culturale” *Santa Maria Novella: La Basilica e il Convento*, Florence, 2015, 13-35.

Arno River where Santa Croce stands today.⁵ In 1250, the Servites would begin occupying land in the center of the city, which would later be used as the site of the church of Santissima Annunziata.⁶ The inhabitants of the *Ultrarni* were an unexploited and, therefore, an extremely appealing audience. For a preaching order, audience is everything, and in the *Ultrarni*, Augustinian preachers would have the largest audience in the city of Florence. So large in fact, that another mendicant-preaching order, the Carmelite, would establish itself just up the street at Santa Maria del Carmine in 1268.⁷ But it would be the Augustinian complex of Santo Spirito that "...became the center of the sestier of the Oltrarno, then of the entire quarter of the same name."⁸

In his "Tempio per la Repubblica", Francesco Quinterio cites a document from 1261 which describes a meeting that took place under the "porticu domus veteris ecclesie Sancti Spiriti de Casellino."⁹ Quinterio interprets the indication of a portico on the church of Santo Spirito as suggesting that the construction of the church was completed by this date, only nine years after it had been begun in 1252. Since most churches were built from back to front (or altar area to façade) in order to expedite the officiating of the church, it would indeed make sense that the presence of a portico on the old church of Santo Spirito would suggest completion. Quinterio notes the similar design at the Early Christian church of Santa Reparata in Florence, which also incorporated an anterior

⁵ For the history of the Franciscan Order in Florence, see J. C. Long, "Bardi Patronage at Santa Croce, c. 1320-1343" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University), 1990.

⁶ For the history of the Servite order in Florence, see E. Casalini, "La Santissima Annunziata e i serviti", *La Chiesa e La Città a Firenze nel XV secolo*, Florence, 1992, 119-126.

⁷ For the establishment of the Carmelite order in the quarter of Santo Spirito and the construction history of their church and convent, see F. Gurrieri, "L'architettura di Santa Maria del Carmine", *La Chiesa di Santa Maria del Carmine*, 1992, 57-88. For a study of the neighborhood of the Carmine, see Burke, 2006, 702-708; N. Eckstein, *The District of the Green Dragon: Neighborhood Life and Social Change in Renaissance Florence*, Florence, 1995 and *Painted Glories: The Brancacci Chapel in Renaissance Florence*, New Haven and London, 2014.

⁸ Botto, 1931, 486, n. 1; the "*Ultrarni* sestier" would become the "Quarter of Santo Spirito" in 1343.

⁹ Quinterio, 1992, 306; Quinterio does not note the oddity of the description of Santo Spirito as "veteris", or "old" or "ancient." Why would a church that was just recently finished be referred to as such?

porch.¹⁰ **(Fig. 21)** Yet, Quinterio misinterprets the document as indicating the portico of the church, when in fact it refers to the portico of the “ancient house of the church of Santo Spirito” (*porticu domus veteris ecclesie Sancti Spiriti*). Therefore since the porch referred to in the document was not that of the old church, Quinterio’s proposed chronology for the construction of the old church would seem unsupported. In fact, further documentation, also presented by Quinterio, would also seem to contradict his theory that the church was completed in less than a decade. In 1269, the Augustinians sold land from their original base in Arcetri in order to pay the master mason, Spiliato di Giovanni da Santa Trinità, along with ten other masons and fifteen manual laborers for work on a new church.¹¹ The large number of masons and laborers hired suggest that a significant amount of work was planned. In fact, the largest of the *cantieri* during the most intense period of the later construction of Brunelleschi’s new church consisted of thirty-two workers.¹² The fact that the Augustinians were selling their own land to pay for labor also indicates a general lack of outside funding. In fact, it was not until 1292 that communal records indicate that public funding was provided for the church of “Santo Spirito and San Matteo”, and in 1295, that funding was renewed.¹³ Why would the Augustinians hire such a large work force, and more importantly, why would the commune subsidize a church project that was, according to Quinterio, finished thirty-four years earlier? It would appear that the old church of Santo Spirito took significantly longer than a decade to complete.¹⁴ In 1292, 1294, 1297 and 1301, the commune purchased houses in the vicinity of the church and demolished them in order to gradually create a piazza in proximity of the church.¹⁵ More likely, it was only by the end of the thirteenth century that enough of the church was completed to indicate the necessarily commensurate size of the subsequent

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² For the average size of later *cantieri* at the new church of Santo Spirito, see Chapter III, 2.

¹³ Quinterio, 1992, 306.

¹⁴ In fact, Botto maintains that the project actually began in 1269, with the hiring of the masons. He also believes that the communal funding received in 1292 was for the enlargement of the original church; see Botto, 1931, pg. 486. Perhaps Botto imagines a scenario analogous to Santa Maria Novella where the original church was enlarged in 1279 by building a new nave perpendicular to the original church.

¹⁵ Quinterio, 1992, 307

piazza. So it was not until the beginning of the fourteenth century that the first Augustinian complex of Santo Spirito assumed a distinct urban identity.

Quinterio is the only scholar who proposes an approximate, hypothetical reconstruction of the old church of Santo Spirito.¹⁶ Based on archival documentation concerning chapel ownership and chapel location in the old church, comparative analysis to other mid-thirteenth-century Florentine churches such as Santa Trinità and the Ognissanti, and previous scholarship on Santo Spirito, Quinterio describes a church that, in many ways, foreshadowed the later Brunelleschian structure. Quinterio imagines a latin-cross plan for the church, with a high chapel (*cappella maggiore*) projecting at its head, a three-aisled nave with contiguous family chapels along its sides, and an exterior, anterior porch.¹⁷ A timber roof covering to the building would seem probable considering the reported rapidity with which fire spread in the church in 1471.¹⁸ Quinterio imagines this wooden roof as being of equal height over both the nave and the side-aisles, in the *hallenkirchen* manner. A vital piece of evidence for Quinterio's reconstruction is a wall, presently hidden from view, located between the external western wall of the extant church and the eastern wall of the seventeenth-century *Chiostro dei Morti*. (**Fig. 22**) Piero Roselli was the first to discover this wall and to propose that it is a surviving section of the perimeter wall of the old church.¹⁹ This "hidden wall" contains three pointed windows and a door. Quinterio believes that this surviving wall was specifically part of the western perimeter wall of the old church, and that it is a clear sample of the architectural detailing of that church. Based on the height of the windows in relation to the pavement of the present church (c. 4m), Quinterio argues that the pavement of the older church must have been about 1.2 meters lower than the present, or approximately at the same level as the present cloister pavement.

It is not clear whether there was a uniform chapel type within the old church. A series of entries in the convent records from 1396 record the obligations for various families entombed in the old church and indicate that

¹⁶ Ibid., 308-310.

¹⁷ Quinterio confirms Davidsohn's theory of a three-aisled nave, while at the same time describing it as "unfounded." See R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, Berlin, 1896.

¹⁸ For the fire of 1471 in the old church of Santo Spirito, see Botto, 1931, 482.

¹⁹ P. Roselli, "Note e Precisazioni sulla chiesa di Santo Spirito a Firenze", *Bollettino degli Ingegneri*, XXIX, 1981, 3-9.

there were twelve chapels inside the church.²⁰ But the entries do not always indicate whether the obligations were for funerary wall chapels, simple altars, or tomb slabs associated with a particular family. Nor do the records indicate the location of the chapels. The twelve chapels and the patronal families associated with them that are cited in the document are as follows:

Table 2:

Titular Dedication of Chapel	Patron
1) St. Nicholas of Tolentino	Aghinolfi
2) St. Nicholas of Bari	Capponi
3) St. Peter	De' Rossi
4) St. Anthony	Biliotti
5) St. Matthew	Biliotti
6) St. Lucy	Baroni
7) Chapel of the Magi	Ridolfi
8) St. Michael	Del Ischia
9) St. Catherine	Simone di Giorgio (ex Arrighi)
10) St. Steven	Monna Mea di Bartolo di Jacopo
11) St. Lawrence	Palarciani
12) High Chapel	Frescobaldi

The only fixed point of reference described in the document is the *cappella maggiore*, owned by the Frescobaldi family, and presumably referring to the central apse or high chapel (*testata*) of the old church. Such is the disposition of the *cappella maggiore* in both Santa Croce and Santa Maria Novella. (**Fig. 23**) But there is no mention of how the other chapels were disposed around it. Curiously, the even number of chapels would have made a symmetrical arrangement for the chapels impossible, presuming the *cappella maggiore* was indeed centered.

Another previously unpublished document, which also records chapel ownership in the old church, presents a slightly different account of chapel patronage.²¹ Although the document is not dated, since it also describes the tombs present in the old church “before it burned” in 1471, presumably it records chapel and tomb ownership in the fifteenth century while Brunelleschi’s

²⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 88, 30v.; cited by Quinterio, 1992, 315, n. 58.

²¹ ASF, *Manoscritti*, 622, 17r. First cited, but not transcribed by Burke, 2006, 695, n.12. Although Burke effectively used this document to mark the continuity of patrons between the old and new churches of Santo Spirito, she did not point out the discrepancy with Quinterio’s list of chapel owners. Quinterio’s list was the basis of his reconstruction of the old church, which is the only proposed reconstruction in the scholarship concerning Santo Spirito. For the full document, see Appendix A, Doc. 2.

church was already under construction. Thus, this document is of greater relevance in tracing the continuity of chapel ownership between old and new church, since many of the same families will appear as patrons in the later Renaissance building. These repeat chapel patrons were, as Quinterio points out, "...almost wanting to demonstrate a *continuum* between the conception of the ancient and new churches and the role of the patrons regarding the prestige acquired in the *quartiere* and the city."²² This document lists the following chapels and associated patrons:²³

Table 3:

Titular Dedication of Chapel	Patron
1) St. Nicholas of Tolentino	Vettori
2) St. Nicholas of Bari	Capponi
3) Sts. Peter and Paul	De' Rossi
4) St. Anthony	Biliotti
5) St. Matthew	Biliotti
6) St. Mary	Lambertucci (Frescobaldi)
7) Chapel of the Magi	Ridolfi
8) St. Michael	del Ischia
9) St. Philip	Macchiavelli
10) St. James	Corsini
11) St. Stephen	Bencivenni ("de' Petrini" added by another hand)
12.) St. Gerome	Rinucci
13) <i>del Infermeria</i>	Manfredi
14) Main Chapel	Frescobaldi
15) <i>Cappella da lato</i>	Frescobaldi

Curiously, this document records the presence of fifteen chapels. It may be that the *cappella del Infermeria* (or "infirmery") was not located in the church at all, but instead inside the convent area. The *infermeria* is probably referring to a *ospedale* (or "hospital"), which was a usual structure in medieval mendicant convents.²⁴ The chapel owned by the Corsini family and dedicated to St.

²² Quinterio, 1992, 309: "...quasi a voler dimostrare un *continuum* fra la concezione della antica e della nuova chiesa e il ruolo dei patronati nei confronti del prestigio acquisito entro il quartiere e la città."

²³ I have altered the order of chapels as they are listed in the original document in order to facilitate the comparison with Quinterio's document.

²⁴ Gabriele Morolli confirms the presence of a hospital in the old convent. See G. Morolli, "Ammannati e i chiostrì di Santo Spirito: L'idea di un 'Escuriale' Tridentino", *La Chiesa e il Convento di Santo Spirito a Firenze*, Florence, 1996, 151. For medieval hospitals, see A. Grieco and L. Sandri, *Ospedale e città: L'Italia del Centro-Nord, XIII-XVI secolo*, Florence, 1997.

James was (and still is) also located in the convent complex.²⁵ Therefore, an odd number of chapels (thirteen) would remain inside the church and in close proximity to each other, and therefore present a more logical arrangement for the chapels. This arrangement would presumably consist of six chapels most likely to either side of the *cappella maggiore* along the transept, and/or along the sides of the nave walls. An analogous arrangement can be found in Santa Croce with ten uniform chapels symmetrically arranged along the transept around the *cappella maggiore* (**Fig. 23**). The varying dedications of some of the chapels and their patrons between the two documents may be explained by the common tradition of chapels changing hands between patrons for any number of reasons, with a resulting alteration of dedication or titular saint. It should be noted that many of the family chapel patrons in the new church were in fact descendants of those patrons in the old, and usually carried over the same titular dedication.²⁶

The most vital question concerning the old church of Santo Spirito, however, is its physical proximity to and/or superimposition with the new church. In attempting to ascertain the material progress of the construction of Brunelleschi's fifteenth-century building, and to insert it into a viable chronology, the position of the old church in relation to the new must first be established. As one church went up, the other must have come down. Or why bother to build a new church? Construction and demolition could have progressed simultaneously - clearing away one church in order to make space for the new. Or, in the case that the churches did not overlap, only once the construction of the new church had sufficiently advanced to make it practicable for officiating, would the old church most likely have been torn down. Presuming the later church was built somewhere in the vicinity of or in physical conjunction with the old, it is the longevity of the practicability of that older church which, in light of the lack of archival information regarding the early period of construction of the new, could reflect both the state of completion of the new church, and/or the building method employed so that the old and new churches did not overlap.

²⁵ For the Corsini chapel, see A. Tartuferi, "L'arte dell'età gotica", *La Chiesa e il Convento di Santo Spirito a Firenze*, Florence, 1996, 54.

²⁶ For the relationship between the families that owned rights over chapels in the old and new churches of Santo Spirito, see Chapter II, 3.

The old church of Santo Spirito was officiated at least until March 15, 1471, when it was severely damaged by fire.²⁷ The fact that three months after the fire, on June 20, 1471, the *Signoria* would impose a tax the revenue of which was used for the repair of the old church certainly indicates that the completion of the new church was apparently not imminent.²⁸ Even if old and new churches did not overlap, if the newer construction was far enough along, the fire may have been an impetus for the final demolition of the old. Yet, with both churches impracticable - one because of fire damage, the other presumably because of incompleteness - it appears that the repair of the old church offered a more immediate solution. Quinterio summarizes four proposed theories as to the physical relationship of the old church to the new, although he does not illustrate any of these theories, except his own.²⁹ These theories can be summarized and illustrated thus in tabular form:

²⁷ For a detailed description of the fire and its consequences, see Botto, 1931, 483.

²⁸ ASF, *Provvisioni*, 162, 82r. ; first published in Botto, 1931, 484.

²⁹ Quinterio, 1992, 311.

Table 4:

Theory	Supporting Scholars	Key Points
1) Perpendicular conjunction of the churches (Fig. 24)	W.Paatz, E.Luporini, H. Saalman ³⁰	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - old church had an altar facing west, and a façade facing east - apse of old church would have occupied the present-day sacristy, and perhaps some of the <i>Chisotro dei Morti</i> - northern extremity of either apse or transept arm would have been contiguous with the western transept arm of the new church - resulting overlap of the two churches would have been limited to the naves
2) Parallel and adjacent arrangement of churches (Fig. 25)	C. Botto, P. Roselli	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - old church stood parallel and adjacent to the western wall of the nave of the new church, occupying the 17th century <i>Chiosstro dei Morti</i> - This theory describes the “hidden wall” as the exterior, eastern nave wall of the old church
3) Superimposition of the churches (Fig. 26)	F. Quinterio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - old church stood with an identical altar-façade orientation as the new church stands today - “hidden wall” was the external, western nave wall of the old church, which would have extended two window bays further south than new church - analogous construction methods at San Lorenzo and Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence³¹
4) Contiguity with Refectory of old convent (Fig. 27)	G. Richa, C. Stegmann, H. Geymuller, A. Parronchi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - old church was somehow physically connected to the thirteenth-century refectory³²

³⁰ Although Quinterio includes Saalman as sustaining a perpendicular arrangement of old and new church, Saalman instead contradicts Paatz and maintains that both old and new church faced south. See Saalman, 1993, 339-340, n.6.

³¹ A similar solution is proposed for the Sienese church of San Francesco. See M. Mussolin, “La Chiesa di San Francesco a Siena: Impianto Originario e Fasi di Cantiere”, *Bulletino Senese di Storia Patria*, 2001, 15-55. In particular, see figure 6.

³² Quinterio argues against this possibility as the refectory, which is rectangular in ground plan, originally contained seven tall, pointed bifores along both of its longer sides. This would then only allow a perpendicular arrangement between structures, which has only a rare precedent in the Badia Fiesolana. See Quinterio, 1992, 311.

When this research project first began, Quinterio's theory regarding the relationship of the old and new churches seemed the most coherent for several reasons. The first reason was that based on then extant archival information regarding the construction of the new church, it was evident that quite a bit of time elapsed before the old and new churches physically came into conflict. Secondly, there is strong evidence, which will be presented later in this chapter, to suggest that Brunelleschi began construction of the new church at the eastern end of what would eventually become the eastern transept arm. Therefore, if the entire crossing area of the new church remained north of and behind the old church, as Quinterio's theory proposes, then only the nave, which was the last part of the new church to be constructed, would have eventually overlapped with the rear of old church.³³ The construction of the crossing of the new church would have taken place free from any physical obstruction by the old church. Quinterio's viable logic is that once the crossing of the new church was completed, it could have been officiated, and only then could the crossing of the old church be demolished, as it would have then been obsolete. Subsequently, as the new nave was systematically completed, the nave and porch of the old church were gradually destroyed.

Theoretically, this argument could also support a perpendicular arrangement of the churches if the crossing of the new church was constructed "in the clear", north of the old church nave (**Fig. 24**). Then again, only the naves of the old and new church would have eventually intersected. As the new nave went up, the old church could have been demolished from facade to crossing. With the crossing of the old church free from the construction of the new church, there was perhaps no real sense of urgency to begin officiating the new church. This may also explain why the usage of the old church continued for so long.

But Quinterio also points out another critical piece of evidence that would support his theory that the old and new churches enjoyed an identical, overlapping orientations, and that is a passage in Antonio's Manetti's late

³³ At the church of San Lorenzo in Florence, which was also designed by Brunelleschi, the crossing of the new church was actually attached to the nave of the old church for several decades until the new nave was begun. For San Lorenzo, see G. Morolli and P. Ruschi, *San Lorenzo 393-1993 L'Architettura: Le vicende della fabbrica*, Florence, 1993.

fifteenth-century *Vita di Brunelleschi*.³⁴ In Howard Saalman's *The Life of Brunelleschi*, the translation of the passage reads, "Filippo pressed them to make the front of the church different from that of the old one (and opposite to what it is today)."³⁵ However, this evidence could potentially be lost in translation by anyone not reading the biography in the original Italian text. This passage is referring to Manetti's claim that Brunelleschi would have preferred to have the façade of the new church facing north, towards the Arno River, but that he was ultimately prevented from doing so by the *autorità* ("authorities"). Although much of what this biographer has to say will later be discredited in this chapter, he may have inadvertently revealed the position of the old church in relation to the new. In the original Italian text, the expression for both the words "different" and "opposite" is *al contrario*. The translator's choice of the word "different" does change the meaning of the passage somewhat, as it does not necessarily imply "contrary" or "opposite", which is the literal translation of *al contrario*³⁶. But then later in the same passage, the expression *al contrario* is, in fact, translated as "opposite", which does imply a reversed orientation for the church. So, if the word "opposite", or even "contrary", was used instead of "different", the passage would read thus: "Filippo pressed them to make the front of the church opposite to that of the old one (and opposite to what it is today)." Therefore, if Brunelleschi was allegedly hoping to reverse the direction of the new church from its original orientation, then the old church must also have faced south, as the present church does.³⁷

Yet, new archival evidence that will be presented for the first time in Chapter III will demonstrate that although the old and new churches shared the same orientation, they almost certainly did not overlap.³⁸ Shortly after the fire that damaged the old church in 1471, the *Opera* received communal

³⁴ See Quinterio, 1992, 316, n. 89. The passage in its original Italian reads: "Filippo gli confortò a fare el dinanzi della chiesa al contrario della vecchia e al contrario di quello che gli è hora." (Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 125.)

³⁵ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 124.

³⁶ www.oxforddictionaries.com: "al contrario."

³⁷ Quinterio logically discredits Paatz's claim that Manetti is actually describing an old church perpendicular to the new by pointing out that Brunelleschi's intentions were to orient his church opposite to both to the old church and to the present orientation of Santo Spirito, which would mean an identical orientation for both old and new churches.

³⁸ See Chapter III, 2.

appropriations to repair it.³⁹ So while the new church was being built, the old church was contemporaneously being repaired. This simultaneous state of respective construction and repair of the two churches has generally been interpreted as reflecting the rather significant state of incompleteness of the new church. In Quinterio's proposed construction history, the old church was repaired because the construction of the new church had not yet reached it, and in the eyes of the *Opera*, would probably have required considerable time before it did so.⁴⁰ Once it did, the old church would be gradually torn down. But unpublished records from the debit/credit books of the *Opera* between 1471 and 1481 reveal a completely different scenario. By 1473, the construction of the western nave wall of the new church had been completed. In the following year, foundations were being laid for the eastern nave wall. By the summer of 1475, the façade foundations were laid; and by the end of 1476, with the exception of the façade wall, the entire nave of the new church was complete.⁴¹ This new documented progression of construction for the new church effectively dismisses Quinterio's theory of superimposed churches. For how could an entire nave have been constructed and the foundations for the façade of the new church have been laid, if, as Quinterio proposes, the front of the new church overlapped with the apse of the old, which was most likely still in use? Furthermore, the repair of the old church was not necessitated because, as Quinterio proposes, the progress of construction of the new church had advanced so slowly that it was still a good distance away from overlapping with the old by the year of the fire (1471). This was clearly not the case since only four years after the fire in the old church, work had already begun on the façade of the new. Although the repair of the old church may have been motivated by a realistic assessment by the *Opera* of the time required to complete the new church, and thereby the ability to begin using it, this assessment was not based on the physical distance between the two churches. In other words, the increasing proximity of the two churches was not a meter by which to measure the progression of construction of the new church, as Quinterio suggests. This is simply because, although the two churches most likely did share the same physical orientation, they were clearly independent of each other.

³⁹ Botto, 1931, 482

⁴⁰ Quinterio, 1992, 312.

⁴¹ See Chapter III, 2.

Therefore, if the two churches were not superimposed, then how exactly were they positioned in relation to each other? Quinterio dismisses the theory that the old church was somehow attached to the thirteenth-century refectory, which is the only surviving portion of the old convent, because there were originally seven windows running along both of the longer sides of the refectory.⁴² This would result in a configuration where the church could only have been attached to a short side of the refectory. Quinterio points out the rarity of such an arrangement, with perhaps the Badia Fiesolana being the only exception.⁴³ The theory that the two churches were arranged in a perpendicular fashion can also be dismissed because it also presupposes a superimposition of the churches, which was clearly not the case.

That the two churches were parallel and adjacent to each other, and that the “hidden wall” was part of the external eastern nave wall of the old church is also improbable because it would position the old church with either its façade or apse facing the windows of the old refectory. Furthermore, the limited space between the “hidden wall” and the thirteenth-century refectory would result in an exaggeratedly reduced scale for the old church. **(Fig. 25)** Although he did not note the awkwardness of such an arrangement between the old church and refectory, Saalman was the first to question Rosselli’s claim, which was later supported by Quinterio, that the “hidden wall” was once part of the external eastern nave wall of the old church.⁴⁴ Saalman claims that the “hidden wall” was instead probably part of the old convent complex.⁴⁵ The completely illogical position of the old church resulting from the incorporation of the “hidden wall” as its exterior eastern nave wall would seem to prove Saalman correct. So, although technically, the old and new churches could have been parallel to each other, the “hidden wall” first seen by Rosselli was not part of the old church, and therefore cannot be used as a marker to indicate its original position.

Even though a parallel situation could still have been possible, there is another, more economic solution that has yet to be considered, and that is that the old church was situated on axis with the new church, but in a more

⁴² Quinterio, 1992, 311.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Saalman, 1993, 339, n.6.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

advanced (or southern) position. The old church could have been independent of the old refectory, or perhaps even attached to it.⁴⁶ **(Fig. 27)** In either case, the old church most probably occupied a portion of the present-day Piazza Santo Spirito. Although this would result in finding the necessary space to accommodate the entirety of the new church behind the old, it would at least also allow for the eventual expansion of the piazza, once the old church was destroyed. With the exception of the aforementioned communal records of the purchase and subsequent demolition of homes during the last decade of the thirteenth century in order to create a piazza for the old church, little is known about the evolution of Piazza Santo Spirito. Quinterio believes that urban space created at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is "...a piazza that, except for a few variations relative to the successive demolitions in the area of the convent, assumed a configuration that has endured all the way to our own time."⁴⁷ This is hard to believe because, if for no other reason, the present scale of the piazza would not be commensurate with the scale of the old church of Santo Spirito, which, regardless of its configuration, is generally and logically considered to have been smaller than the new. A smaller church would suggest a smaller piazza, as much as a larger church would necessitate a proportionally larger piazza that could also then accommodate larger audiences for the preaching friars.⁴⁸ By building the new church of Santo Spirito behind the old church, the *Opera* would have implicitly provided the means by which to eventually amplify the piazza by simply doing the inevitable - that is, tearing down the old church.⁴⁹ Therefore, the urban reality that we see today, in regards to the church and its anterior piazza, was actually created at

⁴⁶ Although Quinterio argues that a configuration of the old church attached to a short side of the refectory was improbable, he does provide a precedent for such an arrangement in the Badia Fiesolana. (Quinterio, 1992, 311.)

⁴⁷ Quinterio, 1992, 307: "...una piazza che salvo poche varianti, relative a successive demolizioni lungo la zona conventuale, assumerà la conformazione giunta sino ai giorni nostri."

⁴⁸ Not surprisingly, the only other piazzas in Florence commensurate in scale to that of Santo Spirito were also associated with mendicant churches at Santa Maria Novella, Santa Croce, Santissima Annunziata and Santa Maria del Carmine.

⁴⁹ Trachtenberg claims that the old church was done away with, with little fanfare: "...Santo Spirito, whose relatively recent thirteenth-century predecessor carried only a modest charge of "age value" and was easily swept aside for the *ex novo* geometric perfection of Brunelleschi's new church." (Trachtenberg, 2015, 142.)

the end of the fifteenth century, and not, as Quinterio suggests, at the turn of thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Only once a clear historical and architectural identity for the first church of Santo Spirito is established can a definitive study of the new church begin. Understanding the manner in which the Augustinian order inserted itself into the social and urban development of the *Oltrarno*, and how the old church compared to the other great mendicant complexes of the city is important in any attempt to reconstruct of the historical role of the Santo Spirito complex in early republican Florence. But, whereas the other mendicant churches in Florence have survived more or less in their original Gothic forms, Santo Spirito was rebuilt as one of the first great Renaissance-style churches. The transition between the old and new churches is critical in tracing any form of continuity in architectural form, patronage and urban identity in a city in which tradition was everything. However, in the absence of archeological evidence, both the exact size and location of the old church remain speculative.

2.) The New Church of Santo Spirito

Almost all subsequent scholarship concerning the construction history of the new church of Santo Spirito incorporates part or all of the information provided by Brunelleschi's earliest biographer Antonio di Tuccio Manetti.⁵⁰ Writing in the mid-1480s, Manetti recounts the early decisions made by Brunelleschi and the *Opera* of Santo Spirito concerning the construction of the new church, and supplies an *apologia* for the subsequent changes made by Brunelleschi's followers after his death in 1446. Yet, as outlined in the introduction, there is some discrepancy between the account provided by Manetti and the documentation surviving from the earliest period of construction of the church. While Manetti's account is useful in creating a fluid narrative for this early period of construction because of the general absence of significant and revealing archival information, much of his information is hearsay and often times contradicted by the limited documentation. Marvin Trachtenberg summarizes the biographer's *modus operandi* thus:

⁵⁰ For the history of Manetti's biography, see Introduction, n. 16.

...Manetti iterates what he does repeatedly in the *Vita*, which is to take a few pieces of evidence at hand - a building, a model, the difference between them, a randomly encountered document, a folkloric fragment - and conjure an elaborate, often highly imaginative narrative 'explaining' them, resolving the contradictions and ideological problems they pose, or illustrating a pet theme.⁵¹

Nevertheless, Manetti's account has been incorporated into a majority of the scholarship concerning the construction history of Santo Spirito as both a narrative template and, in light of the limited amount of extant archival information regarding the early period, a compensatory primary source. But no scholar has yet to provide an objective appraisal of the information provided by the biographer as regards the construction history of Santo Spirito.⁵² In order to assess the authenticity of Manetti's account and its objective contribution to the construction history of the new church, it is necessary to extricate the archival evidence from the biographical narrative, and then compare the two accounts.

The Biographer

Manetti's narrative concerning the early construction history of Santo Spirito opens with the ambiguous phrase "around this same time..."⁵³ These words presumably suggest that the chronology of the events in his discussion about Santo Spirito was contemporary with the topic discussed immediately prior in the *Vita*, which was Brunelleschi's fortification of Vicopisano.⁵⁴ Manetti goes on to describe how the Lenten sermons of an Augustinian friar named Fra Francesco Mellini, also known as "Lo Zoppo", attracted the most notable citizens of the quarter, who Manetti specifically identifies as Messers Lorenzo Ridolfi, Bartolomeo Corbinelli, Neri di Gino Capponi, Ghoro di Stagio Dati.⁵⁵ In

⁵¹ M. Trachtenberg, *Building-in-Time: from Giotto to Alberti and Modern Oblivion*, New Haven and London, 2010, 294.

⁵² In his recent study of San Lorenzo, Marvin Trachtenberg took an approach similar to my own in appraising Manetti's account of Brunelleschi's involvement with that church project. See M. Trachtenberg, 2015, 157-167.

⁵³ Manetti (Salmaan), 1970, 120. For a critical reading of Manetti's account regarding Brunelleschi's other works, see Trachtenberg, 2010, 285-330.

⁵⁴ For Brunelleschi's fortifications at Vicopisano, see Battisti, 1981, 230-247.

⁵⁵ For information concerning Fra Francesco "lo Zoppo" Mellini, see Quinterio, 1992, 314, n. 29; and M. Simari, "Profilo Storico-Architettonico di un Monastero Fiorentino del Quattrocento: Santa Monaca", *Rivista d'Arte*, XXXIX, 1987, 147.

his sermons, Mellini describes Santo Spirito as “the principal church of the most important quarter of the city, in which there were many prominent citizens”, and, indicating the religious complex as a whole, that “it was time to consider renewing it in conformity with what was appropriate to the Quarter and the generosity of their hearts.”⁵⁶ The biographer identifies this precise event as the first and definitive impetus to rebuild the Augustinian complex, “... as no one had given thought to it earlier, it began from that.”⁵⁷

Manetti then recounts the beginnings of the bureaucratic events that set the entire reconstruction into motion:

And they decided, since they knew how to manage, that with the authority and commission of the Signoria, *operai* should be appointed. Thus, about the year 1428 five prominent citizens, all from the Quarter, decided at their meeting that for the time being a *provveditore* should be appointed and together with him the organization of the *Ufficio*, the notary, the location and then the whole building should be studied.⁵⁸

According to Manetti, Stoldo Frescobaldi was the logical choice as *provveditore* “since the principal chapel of the old church belonged to the Frescobaldi and Stoldo was a capable and valiant man with affection for the church.”⁵⁹ Part of Stoldo’s responsibilities would be to personally advance the necessary funds to begin the project “hoping to recover his outlay when the money was provided.”⁶⁰

The *Vita* then describes the initial contact made between *Opera* and architect - “...since Filippo was famous... they appointed him to bring them some good ideas, offering him advantage and honor in compensation, saying clearly to him: ‘We might not be able to pay even if you make something similar to what we are hoping for’.”⁶¹ This potential lack of monetary compensation was perhaps the reason why Brunelleschi initially limited his work to “a plan with only the foundations of the building and with this explained to them orally what

⁵⁶ Manetti (Salmaan), 1970, 122.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid. This is where the first, fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Vita* ends. All subsequent biographical text appeared in 1896 with the discovery of the second manuscript by Chiappelli. (See Introduction, n. 16.)

⁶¹ Manetti (Salmaan), 1970, 123-124.

the elevation would look like.”⁶² Impressed with his design, the *Opera* then ordered the construction of a wooden, scale model at the expense of the *provveditore*:

And this is how it happened that he made and brought to them a very beautiful model, and why, in considering carrying out the new church whether it would be well to turn it rather one way than another in the rebuilding, Filippo pressed them to make the front of the church different from that of the old one (and opposite to what it is today).⁶³

Manetti then further elaborates the idea of reversing the church. He claims that Brunelleschi either planned a piazza beginning at the via del Fondaccio (present day via Santo Spirito) or even closer to the river, so that the façade of his church would coincide approximately with where it is today, but in the reverse orientation. Thus, the body of the church would have occupied the present day piazza. It seems that the biographer quite agreed with the idea of reversing the church, claiming that:

Actually, had it been built in that way the quarter would not have lost any of its usefulness, and would have become more convenient for all the rest of the city; and with the façade turned about in such a way those who come to Florence from the Genoese coast would have seen the façade when passing by the way, and it would not have removed any convenience from the monks’ dwelling, and nothing would have been ruined, and all of the dwellings, cloisters, refectories, and chapter houses would have been preserved no less than they were in the way it was actually constructed. And furthermore it would have faced the river.⁶⁴

Curiously, Manetti is rather elusive as to the reasons why the reversed plan was not realized. He simply claims, “It did not appeal to the powerful men of that time”, and that “because of unimportant motives it was not built so.”⁶⁵ Although a bit of stinging criticism does permeate the biographer’s closing statement on

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Manetti (Salmaan), 1970, 124. Saalman’s translation translates “al contrario” in the original Italian to “different” and “opposite” respectively. As indicated earlier in this chapter, I am inclined to believe “opposite” is the more appropriate translation in both instances.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

this issue - "Authorities accomplish many things, it is true, but at times they ruin some of them..."⁶⁶

The narrative continues with a description of the actual physical beginnings of construction and its almost immediate interruption:

So they laid the [plan out with] cords and came to a part of the foundations toward the Via del Fondaccio outside the old church, which did not impede the use of the old church for the time being. Having begun it, because of the misfortunes of the city, they had to wait for a few years.⁶⁷

Manetti concludes his narrative with an assessment of the state of construction, presumably upon Brunelleschi's death, and a fatalistic *apologia* for the subsequent deviations from Brunelleschi's original intentions:

When Filippo had made the model and founded a part of [the church], he said at some point that, insofar as the composition of the edifice was concerned, it seemed to him that he had begun a church in accordance with his intentions... He began it and founded some chapels and erected a part of it in his day in accordance with this intention. It was a beautiful thing which, with the projection of the material toward the exterior [i.e., the externally projecting semicircular chapels] had no peer in Christendom, not even with the errors made and consented to by others.⁶⁸

Manetti's biography as regards Santo Spirito is a true gift to architectural historians. It provides sufficient information as regards all aspects of construction histories - historical impetus, chronology, patron identities, an architect, a model, the state of construction upon the architect's death, and a suggestion of how later architects deviated from the intentions of the original. All of this information is packaged in a concise and eloquent narrative that presents itself convincingly. Small wonder that modern scholarship on Santo Spirito has espoused the biographer's account as the near definitive version of names and events as regards the early construction history of the church. In

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Manetti (Salmaan), 1970, 124-126.

⁶⁸ Manetti (Salmaan), 1970, 126. Marvin Trachtenberg rather flippantly points out the appropriateness of the rather fatalistic words that conclude Manetti's biography, and that are in keeping with the rather critical tone of the entire biography (see M. Trachtenberg, 2010, 298).

contrast to the fragmentary and murky archival documentation that survives from this early period, Manetti provides an authoritative historical voice.⁶⁹ Yet, it is precisely the fragmentary documentation that casts considerable shadows of doubt over significant aspects of Manetti's account.

The Documents (1397-1446)

The earliest known official document concerning the reconstruction of Santo Spirito is a record in the *Provvisioni* of the Signoria from 1397.⁷⁰ Earlier that year, on August 28, the feast day of St. Augustine, the commune of Florence played a major role in a military victory over Galeazzo Visconti near Governolo in the Po Valley. In gratitude to the saint, the commune decided to build a new church for the Augustinian brothers in Florence "within five years." The project would be under the direction of the *Opera* of Santa Reparata (or Florence cathedral), and under the auspices of "the name and arms of the said commune." Considering the chronological proximity to the fifteenth-century project, and the fact that there is no record of building and/or administrative activity in the first two decades of the 1400s, this document must refer to what eventually was to become the "new church" of Santo Spirito.

In another unpublished and undated record from a later compendium of "memories and curiosities regarding churches and religious things", an entry records how, in 1387 (1397?), "... the commune of Florence orders that in memory of the victory obtained in the territory of Mantova ... the *Opera* of Santa Maria del Fiore is obligated to make a chapel in the said church dedicated to the said saint for the the sum of 1000 *soldi*, and because up to 1441 it [the chapel] was not made, the *operai* of Santo Spirito insist that it be made."⁷¹ A later entry in the same record, referring to the year 1381, indicates that "When said church is constructed, the *operai* of Santa Maria del Fiore will make a

⁶⁹ I agree with Trachtenberg's claim that "Manetti's discussion of virtually every important building of Brunelleschi (apart from the cupola) is affected by his 'outlook'", that is "...if the design is for any reason changed, it is (to the extent) spoiled" (Trachtenberg, 2010, 297); but I will limit the present discussion to a comparative study of Manetti's historical accuracy specifically regarding the construction history of Santo Spirito.

⁷⁰ ASF, *Provvisioni*, 86, 189; first cited by G. Richa, *Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine*, Florence, 1754, IX, 15.

⁷¹ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, III, 9/bis., 175r. For document, see Appendix A, Doc. 3.

chapel in the crossing of the said church... under the title of St. Augustine in which 1000 *soldi* will be spent.”⁷² Although the chronology of the entries is not precise, the allusion to the Lombard military victory, the specific mention of the *Opera* of Santa Maria del Fiore (Santa Reparata), and the consistent reference to the Augustinian friars, convent and St. Augustine (on whose feast day the battle was won), indicate that the construction of the chapel was part of the same program as the *Provisioni* document of 1397 and therefore intended for the new church.

On June 16, 1425, the first, and, hitherto, unidentified *Opera* of Santo Spirito was recorded in a “Book of Credits and Debits” for a certain Francesco di Lorenzo, who is identified as the elected syndicate and procurator for *savi*, friars, *Operai* and the then prior general of the Augustinian order, Agostino da Roma.⁷³ What is perhaps most important about this document is the primary role played by the Augustinians: “...the syndicate and procurator was made with the consensus of the said venerable Father Messer General and the will and consensus of the sixty-two friars gathered in the chapterhouse of the convent of St. Augustine of Florence....” Of the six *operai* appointed, only two - Sandro di Giovanni Biliotti and Giovanni di Tommaso Corbinelli - would sit on later *Opere*.

The next official document concerning *Opera* activity at Santo Spirito is dated January 19, 1433[34] and specifically records the appointment of Stoldo di Lionardo Frescobaldi and Pietro del Benino as *operai* for the said church.⁷⁴

⁷² ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, III, 9/bis., 576r.

⁷³ This document was first cited although not transcribed in Burke, 2004, 236, n.15. Although Burke recognizes this appointment as representing the earliest known *Opera* at Santo Spirito, she does not identify the *operai* who were actually appointed; nor she does explore the role of this first *Opera* in the context of the construction history of the new church. Referring to the later 1434 appointment of Stoldo Frescobaldi and Pietro del Benino as *operai*, Burke writes “these certainly were not the first *operai* elected by the friars of Santo Spirito – a list exists of a committee from 1425 – but they were the first documented specifically to concern themselves with this new construction project.” (Burke, 2004, 66) For the transcription of the document, see Appendix A, Doc. 1.

⁷⁴ Luporini, 1964, 230, Doc. 1. First published by Fabriczy, 1907, 212. - “19 gennaio 1434...Pietrum Ghorii Andree del Benino de Florentia et Stoldum Leonardi de Frescobaldis de Florentia, ambos in concordia operarios et pro operariis et constructores et edificatores opere ecclesie capituli et conventus Sanctii Spiritus predicti cum plenissima balia auctoritate et potere supra dicta et omnia predicta totius dicti capituli et conventus.”

Both men are given, “the fullest power, authority and power over the said and all the aforesaid things concerning the said chapter and convent” and are specifically identified as “constructores et edificatores” of the church, chapter and convent, clearly indicating their roles as “builders.” That only two men should be assigned the title of *operai* is inconsistent with the later *Opere* that regularly consisted of at least five men. But it seems that Frescobaldi and Del Benino alone were able to exercise a significant influence in the halls of the *Signoria*, as they secured the first public appropriation for the construction of their church about two years after their appointment. A record in the *Provvisioni* of the *Signoria* dated March 22, 1435[36] records the transfer of income generated by a surtax (*gabella*) of three *denari* per quart on salt from Santa Croce to Santo Spirito.⁷⁵ Santa Croce was to receive the appropriations for another three years in order to complete its dormitory, but on June 13, 1439, Santo Spirito would begin receiving the revenue “for the construction and completion of the said Church.” To maintain indirect control of the tax, the *Signoria* assigned the six of the *Mercanzia* (or the Mercantile Court) the responsibility of disbursing the funds, as had also been the case with the Santa Croce dormitory.⁷⁶ In fact, curiously, in a record from the books of the *Mercanzia*, dated March 22, 1436 - the same date as the *Provvisione* recording the transfer of the funds to Santo Spirito - the dormitory is described as essentially completed (*dictum dormitorium iam perfectum est*).⁷⁷ Therefore, it is unclear just exactly why the *Opera* of Santo Spirito had to wait three years for the transfer of funds from an already “completed” dormitory. A similar scenario occurred slightly later at the church of Santissima Annunziata in Florence. In this case, the funding for the construction of the *tribuna* was provided by the

Botto identifies Frescobaldi and Del Benino as *provveditori* even though the title does not appear as such in the document. The two men are explicitly appointed as *operai*. See Botto, 1931, 489.

⁷⁵ Luporini, 1964, 231-232, Doc. 2. First published by Fabriczy, 1907, 212. “...pro constructione et seu perfectione dicte ecclesie... Item quod predicta locum habeant dumtaxit tribus annis recipiendis immediate finitis tribus annis prorogationis facte fratribus seu operariis ecclesie Sancte Crucis pro perfectione dormitorii dicte ecclesie. Videlecit die tertio decimo mensis Junii anni Millesimi quadrigentesimi trigesimi noni, quo die finite dicta prorogatio.”

For further information on the *gabella*, see A. Molho, *Florentine Public Finances in the Early Renaissance, 1400-1433*, Cambridge, MA, 1971, 45-59.

⁷⁶ Saalman, 1993, 224.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Marquis of Mantua, Ludovico II Gonzaga, who had been persuaded by Cosimo “the Elder” de’ Medici to take up sponsorship of the project.⁷⁸ In 1449, the Marquis requested that 1200 of the 5000 florins owed to him by the Florentine commune be diverted to the construction of the *tribuna*, in monthly installments of 100 florins. Yet, it was not until 1453 that the *Signoria* released the funds (which had in the meantime increased to 2000 florins) to the Servites.⁷⁹ Perhaps the *Signoria* was, in both cases, allocating the funds to other purposes in the interim period.

Further *Opera* activity is recorded in an entry, dated April 18, 1436 in the *Libro di ricordanze* of Francesco di Tommaso Giovanni, one of the future *operai* of Santo Spirito.⁸⁰ Francesco Giovanni writes that the men of the quarter and the brothers of the convent met many times “about ordering that work on the building begin.” Six *operai* were nominated and in order that they might have “greater authority”, the men and brothers of Santo Spirito asked for the approval of the *Mercanzia*. The six *operai* mentioned are

Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi
Giovanni di Tommaso Corbinelli,
Sandro di Giovanni Biliotti,
Neri di Gino Capponi,
Francesco di Niccolò del Benino
Francesco di Tommaso Giovanni (the author).

To these six, three more *operai* were added by the *Mercanzia*, of whom only Giovanni di Lutozo Nasi is mentioned. This entry also discusses the financial resources at the *opera*’s disposal. Francesco Giovanni writes, “Having met together many times and examined the availability of money, which is to be considered totally inadequate [*insufficientissimo*] for such a building, we deliberate, for now, to let matters stand.” A significant reference is made to Neri Capponi’s role regarding the financial matters: “... we let it stand awaiting that,

⁷⁸ For the construction history of the *tribuna* of Santissima Annunziata, see B. L. Brown, “The Patronage and Building History of the Tribuna of SS. Annunziata in Florence: A Reappraisal in Light of New Documentation”, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, Florence, 1981, 59-146. See also A. Calzona, “La tribuna della Santissima Annunziata di Firenze”, *Leon Battista Alberti e l’architettura*, Milan, 2006, 404.

⁷⁹ Brown, 1981, 63-64.

⁸⁰ ASF, *Stroziane II*, *Il Libro di Ricordanze di Francesco di Tommaso Giovanni*, 16, 13v. First published by Fabriczy, 1907, 212. For the full document, see Appendix B, Doc. 1.

besides the assignment we received when I was one of the *Signori*, Neri di Gino, who is expected to become *gonfaloniere*, should make some addition.”

An unpublished entry in the books of the *Mercanzia* dated April 21, 1436, states that the six *operai* mentioned by Francesco Giovanni were, in fact, approved for a one-year term.⁸¹ The additional, and previously unknown, *operai*, not mentioned by Francesco Giovanni are identified as Giannozzo di Bernardo Manetti and Gherardo di Messer Filippo Corsini. On December 17, 1438, the *Mercanzia* approved Lorenzo di Gino Capponi, Piero di Goro del Benino and Tommaso di Bartolomeo Corbinelli to replace the other members of their respective families as *operai*.⁸²

On January 30, 1439[1440], the *operai* of Santo Spirito received their first payment from the revenues of the salt tax appropriation assigned to them in 1435[1436].⁸³ The amount of the payment for the “construction... of the said church” was 500 lire. Although the amount, which was disbursed eight months late, is not especially significant, it is the first documented payment for the construction of the church. In the same year, an almost entirely unpublished “Libretto”, or “small notebook”, was created, recording the deliberations of the *Opera* and the money “coming in” to, *entrata*, and “going out” of, *uscita*, their account.⁸⁴

On June 5, 1444, the salt tax appropriation was renewed for another five years.⁸⁵ The document refers to the “newly begun church of Santo Spirito of Florence”, and makes reference to the first three-year appropriation that had expired “around two years ago.” The tax, which went into effect that same day, was also increased from three to four *denari* per quart of salt. The document also claims that the commune had provided for the project *quod hinc principio* or “from the beginning”, which would indicate January 1439 [1440], when public funding first arrived at Santo Spirito, as that “beginning.” Less than a year later, on April 23, 1445, the salt tax was once again renewed, this time for twenty

⁸¹ ASF, *Mercanzia*, 271, 39r. For document, see appendix A, Doc. 4.

⁸² ASF, *Mercanzia*, 272, 127r. First published by H. Saalman, 1993, 450, Santo Spirito Doc. 1.

⁸³ ASF, *Mercanzia*, 273, 97v.-98r. First cited but not transcribed by Saalman, 1993, 347. For document, see Appendix A, Doc. 5.

⁸⁴ ASF, *Carte Stroziane II*, 93, 1r. The information contained in this *Libretto* will be discussed at length in Chapter II.

⁸⁵ ASF, *Balie*, XXVI, 27v.-28r. First published by Luporini, 1964, 233, Doc. 4.

years.⁸⁶ Stipulated to take effect after the previously-assigned five years had passed, the revenues of the tax were to be divided between Santo Spirito and Santa Maria del Carmine, four-fifths going to Santo Spirito and one-fifth to the Carmine. The increased tax is probably the result of the shared revenue between two churches. Santo Spirito is described in the document as “having been begun and already in good part constructed.”⁸⁷

The last piece of documentary evidence from the period before Brunelleschi's death on April 15, 1446 is recorded in the aforementioned “Libretto.” Dated April 5, 1446, the entry records an order on the part of the *Opera* for five columns from the stonecutter Giovanni Pieroni, for a total cost of 90 florins.⁸⁸ The order stipulates that payment would only be made after the first finished column was delivered to the worksite. This order would suggest that the *Opera* was preparing to begin the actual elevation of the church by April 1446. Yet, archival evidence to be presented in the next chapter records how, as of January 25, 1446[1447], no column had yet arrived.

Manetti's Account vs. the Documentation: Chronology

The most striking incongruity between the biographer's account and the extant archival material concerning the early construction history of Santo Spirito is the 1428 initiation date for the bureaucratic, artistic and construction aspects of the project proposed by Manetti. This date has been incorporated as a chronological parameter in nearly all of the scholarly literature concerning Santo Spirito, despite the fact that it does not correspond with any of the extant archival documentation concerning the church - namely the 1397 *Provvisione* or the 1433[1434] nomination of Frescobaldi and del Benino as the “first” two building *operai* of the new church. As discussed in the introduction, Manetti's unsupported date has allowed scholars to insert Santo Spirito into the middle of Brunelleschi's architectural *oeuvre* according to the “Heydenreichian” model of stylistic development in Brunelleschi's projects. This date also provides a greater temporal “window” in which Brunelleschi could have been directly involved with the project.

⁸⁶ Luporini, 1964, 234-236, Doc. 5.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ ASF, *Carte Stroziane II*, 93, 9v. First published by Luporini, 1964, 236, Doc. 6.

So how did Manetti arrive at 1428 as the beginning of the project? Manetti's account was in all likelihood the result of hearsay evidence he gathered from within the neighborhood of Santo Spirito, which was, coincidentally, also his own neighborhood.⁸⁹ Manetti could also have discussed the history of the church with actual *operai* of the project, as the church was completed right around the time he was writing his *Vita* in the 1480s. In fact, Manetti would have been writing concurrently with the public controversy concerning the number of doors to insert into the church façade, which shall be addressed in Chapter III.⁹⁰ So should Manetti's 1428 date be explained as a chronological approximation or nominal discrepancy on the part of an author writing a half-century later? A scrupulous examination of Manetti's *Vita* and subsequent comparison with the extant documentary evidence concerning Santo Spirito will reveal the biographer's *modus operandi* in establishing an early building chronology for the church.

The very first words in Manetti's account, "around this same time..." contradict his chronology. These words imply that Manetti's narrative concerning Santo Spirito begins contemporaneously with the subject discussed immediately prior in the biography - that is, Brunelleschi's design of the fortifications at Vicopisano.⁹¹ A document from the *Provvisioni* of the Signoria indicates that the decision to fortify Vicopisano was made in July 1435.⁹² Although the seven-year discrepancy between Manetti's 1428 date for Santo Spirito and the 1435 decision to fortify Vicopisano is not especially notable, it does set a rather "approximate" chronological tone for Manetti's biography. It is also worth noting that the Vicopisano date falls between the 1433[1434] appointment of Frescobaldi and del Benino as building *operai* and the March 1435[1436] transfer of salt-tax revenues from Santa Croce to Santo Spirito. This suggests that although Manetti indicates the wrong year of 1428, he is very much aware of the events contemporary to the rebuilding of Santo Spirito.

⁸⁹ Antonio di Tuccio di Marabottino Manetti (1423-1497) was buried in the Florentine church of Santa Maria del Carmine. For biographical notes on Manetti, see Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 17-19.

⁹⁰ It is worth noting that Antonio Manetti makes no mention of the door controversy.

⁹¹ For Brunelleschi's intervention at Vicopisano, see G. Fascetti, *Le Fortificazioni di Vico Pisano: un capolavoro dell'ingegno di Filippo Brunelleschi*, Pisa, 1998.

⁹² Fabriczy, 1907, 76.

The primary role Manetti attributes to the Augustinian friar Francesco “lo Zoppo” Mellini is also worth investigating. Mellini, who was from Pisa, became a doctor of theology at the university in Florence in 1437.⁹³ Already a member of the Augustinian chapter in Pisa by 1442, in 1455, he was nominated a “maestro” in theology. Between 1454 and 1460, Mellini was the head of the Provincial Pisan chapter of the order, and in 1476, he is indicated as the syndicate and procurator of the Florentine Augustinian nunnery of Santa Monaca. It is probable that Mellini was in Florence around 1428, considering he obtained his doctorate there nine years later. But it is highly improbable that the sermons of a then mere student of theology “attracted a great concourse of citizens” as Manetti would have us believe.⁹⁴ Manetti refers to Fra Mellini as “Master”, although this is a title he would only receive nearly thirty years after he allegedly “exhorted” the citizens of the *Oltrarno*, if we are to believe Manetti, to rebuild their principal church. Perhaps Manetti was confusing the older, more established Mellini, with someone else.

That “someone else” was most likely the prior general of the Augustinian order, Fra Messer Agostino Favaroni “da Roma”, who is mentioned in the 1425 document cited above. The presence of Fra Agostino da Roma in Florence and Tuscany is well documented. Elected to office in 1419, “the prior general spent much of his early years in office in Siena and Southern Tuscany, partly because of the council which met at Siena between 1423 and 1424.”⁹⁵ Fra Agostino was in Tuscany trying to enforce the observance in the southern Tuscan convents that were a part of the Augustinian province of Siena. Convents in northern Tuscany, which fell under Florentine influence, seemed to have been more accepting of the observance.⁹⁶ The prior general also instituted a new administrative role in his convents by assigning lay *operai* to deal with the financial matters of the convents, “in the interests of keeping his friars as free as possible from worldly affairs.”⁹⁷ Although the date in which this practice was introduced in Florence is not known, in Siena it was established in 1424. In a

⁹³ For a short biography of Fra Mellini, see Simari, 1987, XXXIX, 148.

⁹⁴ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 120.

⁹⁵ K. Walsh, “The Observant Congregations of the Augustinian Friars in Italy, c. 1385-c.1465” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford), 1972, 124-125.

⁹⁶ Florence and the towns of northern Tuscany belonged to the Pisan province of the order. Curiously, Santo Spirito never became an observant house.

⁹⁷ Walsh, 1972, 133.

letter of the same year, Fra Agostino “claimed to have successfully carried out a similar scheme in Venice, Florence, Padua, and Perugia and in other convents of the order.”⁹⁸ The chronological proximity of this “scheme” to the creation of the 1425 six-man *Opera* at Santo Spirito indicates that this earliest *Opera* was probably formed specifically to administer the financial affairs of the convent and not to build. This theory is further supported by the total absence of building terminology in this early document, which appears regularly in the later documentation.

Manetti does not specifically mention an *Opera* in his account, but does mention the decision to appoint *operai*. Although this may seem a semantic argument, it is instead crucial in reconciling Manetti with the documentation. In fact, Manetti’s exact wording “and they decided... *operai* should be appointed”, presumably indicates that the “they” who made this decision was the group of four men that he cites by name - Ridolfi, Corbinelli, Capponi, and Dati. Yet, in the next sentence he says that “five notable citizens” - not *operai* - decided “for the time being” to appoint a *provveditore*, or “purveyor of works.”⁹⁹ That a group of five men should decide on how to proceed is significant - although the number of members of the *Opera* at Santo Spirito would vary between two and eight, it most regularly consisted of a group of five men. Considering that three of the four notable citizens that Manetti mentions by name - Lorenzo Ridolfi, Bartolomeo Corbinelli, Neri di Gino Capponi - would either sit or have family members sitting on the above-mentioned *Opera* of 1436, it appears that without explicitly indicating an early building *Opera* for the project, Manetti is implying one. I also believe that in his uncertainty between the 1425 administrative *Opera* and the 1436 building *Opera*, Manetti superimposes the two groups and opts for the earlier date. In fact, two of the 1425 *operai* - Giovanni di Tommaso Corbinelli and Sandro di Giovanni Biliotti - would also sit on the later building *Opera* of 1436.¹⁰⁰ This is another indication of the biographer’s general uncertainty regarding the specific chronology of the church’s beginnings, and

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Goldthwaite, 1980, 159. Goldthwaite describes the responsibilities of the *provveditore* as also involving the arrangement of supplies, worksite security, and financial administration.

¹⁰⁰ The fourth “citizen” identified by Manetti, Goro di Stagio Dati, died in 1435. For Dati, see C. Gilbert, “The Earliest Guide to Florentine Architecture,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, Florence, 1969-70, 14, 35f.

more importantly, further evidence that those beginnings certainly date to a period after 1428.

That this group of men should appoint a *provveditore* in the person of Stoldo di Lionardo Frescobaldi is also important in that the title of *provveditore* does not appear in any of the early documentation concerning the church. Stoldo Frescobaldi, along with Pietro del Benino, is described simply as an *operaio* in the January 1433[34] *Provvisioni*, and neither man is given special rank. Manetti justifies the choice of Frescobaldi as *provveditore* by indicating that his family owned the *cappella maggiore*, or “high chapel”, in the old church. He also claims that Frescobaldi advanced any necessary expense out of pocket.¹⁰¹ I believe Manetti’s elevation of Frescobaldi to *provveditore* is an attempt to create a historical continuity between the old and new church. Pietro del Benino, his co-*operaio*, did not possess a chapel in the old church. As principal chapel owner in the old church, Frescobaldi would in fact eventually be given precedence in the selection of his chapels in the new. Whether or not Manetti was aware of this is unclear, but he does seem to be aware of the primary role of Stoldo Frescobaldi, who sat on at least nine *Opere* between 1434 and 1477, in building the new church.¹⁰²

In attempting to establish a clear historical impetus for the reconstruction of Santo Spirito, Manetti may have got his facts mixed up. More than “Lenten sermons” of 1428, it seems that the military victory of 1397 was the real motivation behind rebuilding the church.¹⁰³ More than the provincial master of theology and preacher, Fra Francesco Mellini, “whose intellectual dimensions did not seem to go beyond the limits of the city”, it was the presence and perhaps even the sermons of the rather well-known prior general of the Augustinian order, Fra Agostino Favaroni which would have “attracted a great

¹⁰¹ Although Goldthwaite supports the idea of the *provveditore* advancing funds, he does not provide evidence to support the claim. I am inclined to believe that Goldthwaite actually based this idea on Manetti’s account of Frescobaldi’s role. See Goldthwaite, 1980, 161.

¹⁰² I include the two-man *Opera* of 1434 because Frescobaldi and del Benino are specifically identified as “building” *operai*.

¹⁰³ Nearly a century later, another of Brunelleschi’s biographers, Vasari, not only mistakenly identified the fire as the historical impetus for rebuilding Santo Spirito, but implied that the fire occurred at the very beginning of the project, although he does not specify a date. For Vasari’s account, see Vasari (Milanesi), 1878, II, 380.

concourse of citizens...”¹⁰⁴ In fact, Fra Francesco Mellini was largely responsible for reestablishing the small convent of Augustinian nuns called Santa Monaca in 1476 in Florence, not of the Augustinian friars at Santo Spirito nearly fifty years earlier.¹⁰⁵ Most importantly, the list of notable citizens who allegedly attended the sermons, which has been accepted by most scholars as a type of seminal *Opera* marking the beginnings of a reconstruction project, is in fact Manetti’s attempt to superimpose actual later building *operai* onto an *Opera* whose initial role was strictly administrative. In light of these confused facts, I believe that it is safe to exclude Manetti’s 1428 date from any plausible construction history concerning Santo Spirito.

A more accurate initiation date for the design and subsequent construction of Santo Spirito can be found in a careful reading of the extant documentation concerning the church. The earliest known document concerning the appointment of building *operai* dates to January 19, 1433[1434]. That Stoldo Frescobaldi is one of these two *operai* is important if we are to believe that he played some extraordinary role in the eventual construction history of the church. Two years later, on March 22, 1435[1436], the *Signoria* would assign the salt tax revenue to Santo Spirito, but those revenues would be received beginning nearly three and half years later on June 13, 1439. With official building *operai* and the promise of communal funding now in place, at least at a logistical level, the process of construction could begin. This is in fact to some degree reflected in Manetti’s account - that after *operai* were appointed and a *provveditore* named, the search for an architect began.

Manetti’s Account vs. the Documentation: The Architect

Filippo Brunelleschi’s role as the original architect of the new church of Santo Spirito has never been brought into question, even though his name does not appear in any of the archival material concerning this early stage of construction. Peggy Haines comments on how building contracts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries usually “do not specify an architect in that they make no mention of anyone who had control over the design; nor do they

¹⁰⁴ Quinterio, 1992, 314, note 29: “...la cui dimensione intellettuale non sembra superare i limiti della città.”

¹⁰⁵ Simari, 1987, 150.

mention any plans or drawings the masons were to follow.”¹⁰⁶ At the Hospital of the Innocents in Florence, Brunelleschi was identified as “... the conductor of works”, not the *architetto* or even *capomaestro*.¹⁰⁷ The earliest documented association between Brunelleschi and the church of Santo Spirito is a letter from the *legnaiuolo*, or “woodworker”, Giovanni da Gaiole to Giovanni de’ Medici dated May 1, 1457.¹⁰⁸ Amidst Gaiole’s complaints of having been assaulted on the street by Brunelleschi’s successor at Santo Spirito, Antonio di Manetti Ciaccheri, because of some derogatory comments made by the former about the quality of the latter’s work, Gaiole claimed to have seen Brunelleschi’s model for the new church, presumably inside the old one. In addition to specifically mentioning the architect by name, the letter also confirms the existence of a Brunelleschi model for Santo Spirito (as indicated by Manetti).¹⁰⁹

Another documented mention of Brunelleschi as the architect at Santo Spirito appears in an entry dated March 4, 1479 in a “Book of Debtors and Creditors from 1477 to 1496” of the *Opera* of Santo Spirito. The entry reads:

And in continuing the work on the tribune, the most expert and repudiated architects confirm that the model made by Salvi [d’Andrea] demonstrates that well being and should be followed, remaining as faithful to and not deviating from Filippo’s [model] but adhering to it as much as possible.¹¹⁰

In addition to reconfirming the presence of a Brunelleschi model, this document also reasserts the general esteem held for that model. So the architect (as we refer to him today) left behind a wooden model as a point of reference to future *capomaestri* at the building site. An analogous situation would arise at the Palazzo Strozzi a half century later, where Giuliano da Sangallo’s wooden model (which still survives) would serve as a guide to the “supervising architect” Simone di Tommaso del Pollaiuolo, known as *Il Cronaca*.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ M. Haines, “Brunelleschi and Bureaucracy: The Tradition of Public Patronage at the Florentine Cathedral”, *I Tatti Studies*, Florence, 1989, 368.

¹⁰⁷ Saalman, 1993, 38.

¹⁰⁸ G. Gaye, 1839, I, 167-169. The significance of this letter as related to Santo Spirito shall be discussed in Chapter II.

¹⁰⁹ For Manetti’s mention of the model, see Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 124.

¹¹⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, fol. 29r. First cited and transcribed by Fabriczy, 1907, 214.

¹¹¹ R. Goldthwaite, “The Building of the Strozzi Palace”, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, X, New York, 1973, 123.

Manetti claims that the motivation behind the hiring of Brunelleschi was the architect's already prestigious reputation. Therefore, Manetti's subsequent statement on the potential inability of the *Opera* to compensate the architect is a bit of a surprise. Why would an already established and particularly in-demand architect who was already involved in projects as notable as the porch of the Hospital of the Innocents, the cupola of Florence Cathedral and the Basilica of San Lorenzo become involved with a project where financial retribution could not be guaranteed? During the 1430s, Brunelleschi was already involved in a stalled commission at San Lorenzo, his first church project.¹¹² Certain scholars have interpreted the interruption at San Lorenzo as the possible reason why Brunelleschi signed on at Santo Spirito. As Saalman says "Brunelleschi left the San Lorenzo project, probably after the death of his patron, Giovanni di Bicci [de' Medici], early in 1429... When the patricians of Santo Spirito pressed their opportunity in the wake of the political turnover of 1434, Brunelleschi had his second chance."¹¹³ The latter church is interpreted as a sort of "second chance" to express the architectural principles he originally intended for the former. Heydenreich also describes Santo Spirito as a church "...that in every respect presents a reasoned conclusion to the problem of San Lorenzo."¹¹⁴ But in addition to an opportunity at architectural redemption, Santo Spirito may also have presented, if we are to believe Manetti, a fiscal hazard for the architect.

It seems that the biographer once again confuses two historical circumstances. What Manetti describes as a potential lack of monetary compensation for the architect was most probably the actual lack of communal funding for the entire project. Manetti claims that the monetary *caveat* offered by the *Opera* explains why Brunelleschi limited his artistic involvement to a "mere" ground plan of the new church with an accompanying verbal explanation of the elevation. Yet most architectural projects, even without financial restraints, would begin the same way. Moreover, the next developmental step in Manetti's account is the logical commissioning of a scale model in wood from

¹¹² For Brunelleschi's involvement at San Lorenzo, see Saalman, 1993, 113-152; and Trachtenberg, 2015, 140-172.

¹¹³ Saalman, 1993, 348-349.

¹¹⁴ Heydenreich (Hyman), 1974, 116.

the architect at the *provveditore's* expense.¹¹⁵ That the *Opera* should be concerned about their financial resources as regards a ground plan and scale model is absurd since the very members of the *Opera* were some of Florence's wealthiest citizens. Saalman profiles the early *operai* such:

Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi, a renowned lawyer from a family with connections in both the Medici and Albizzi camps, former *gonfaloniere della repubblica* (July- August 1426), and a respected voice in the councils of the commune.

Giovanni di Tommaso Corbinelli, a faithful Medici partisan; his brother Antonio maintained friendly relations with Averardo Medici; another brother, Bartolomeo, was a business partner Dietisalvi Neroni, a close *amico* of Cosimo.

Sandro di Giovanni Biliotti, from an old Santo Spirito family with clientele obligations to the Medici; hand picked ('à mano') rather than chosen by lot for the Priorate by the Balìa of 1434, following the Medici's return from exile.

Francesco di Niccolo del Benino, from a 'new' family (i.e. one whose name entered the purses for the Priorate only after 1343) whose fortunes had risen through their support of the Medici faction.

Francesco di Tommaso Giovanni, from a prosperous Santo Spirito family in the Medici camp.

And not least, Neri di Gino Capponi, one of the most powerful men in Santo Spirito; and astute operator who kept his feet in both camps before 1434, only to become a reliable Medici collaborator after the turnover.¹¹⁶

At the Hospital of San Paolo in Florence, the amount paid to Michelozzo di Bartolomeo "...when he provided the model to the *Opera*" for the external *loggia* of the complex was 1 florin.¹¹⁷ Even though Brunelleschi's model would most likely have been larger and more complex, and therefore more expensive, it is difficult to believe that men of the social standing described above would have been concerned about such a minimal expense. Therefore, the real concern

¹¹⁵ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 124: "...he made and brought to them a very beautiful model..."

¹¹⁶ Saalman, 1993, 346.

¹¹⁷ R. Goldthwaite, "Michelozzo and the Ospedale di San Paolo in Florence", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XXI, Florence, 1977, 237.

was instead most likely the lack of funding necessary to actually begin the construction of the church, and that the *Opera* was suggesting to Brunelleschi that even if he delivered his plan and model promptly, there was a general uncertainty about when the *Opera* would possess the financial resources to actually begin the realization of the church. This of course would have been a real concern for both architect and patron alike.

Would an architect as illustrious and in demand as Brunelleschi become involved in a project whose realization was, at least for the moment, uncertain? The event that may have convinced Brunelleschi of the feasibility of the project was the assignment of the salt tax revenue on March 22, 1435[1436]. Although the appropriations would not begin for another three years, the two-man *Opera* (Frescobaldi and Del Benino) had demonstrated its political muscle in securing public funding for the project. They may have even convinced Brunelleschi of even more immediate funding on the way. With the promise of communal subsidies and in the hopes of securing the architect, it is most probably at this point that the *Opera* ordered some preliminary design or plan for their new church.

Manetti's allusion to the financial concerns of the *Opera* as regards their architect also reverberates with the documented financial concerns regarding the entire project recorded by Francesco di Tommaso Giovanni in his *Ricordanze*.¹¹⁸ The April 1436 entry reveals not only a rather gloomy financial reality, but also much about the state of progress of construction. Francesco Giovanni, an *operaio* himself, explains that there was much activity on the part of the citizenry and convent "about ordering that work on the building begin" - which indicates that as of mid 1436, it had not. Francesco Giovanni also assesses the financial resources at the disposal of the *Opera* as "*insufficientissimo* for such a building."¹¹⁹ Whether he is referring to the future salt-tax revenue or more immediate financial resources is not clear. Most likely, Francesco Giovanni is referring to both because, while at Santa Croce those same revenues were being used for the construction of a dormitory, at Santo Spirito they would be employed for the building of an entire church. So if the *Opera* was expressing concern about the insufficiency of future funding, its immediate financial position could not have been very promising either. The

¹¹⁸ For document, see Appendix B, Doc. 1.

¹¹⁹ Fabriczy, 1907, 212.

significant reference made in this document to Neri di Gino Capponi, another *operaio* at Santo Spirito, further supports this financial assessment. Francesco Giovanni claims that Neri was expected to become *gonfaloniere* in the near future and therefore should have been able to secure a financial “addition” for the project.¹²⁰ Such was the case in 1417 at San Lorenzo, when a local leading parishioner was serving as *gonfaloniere della giustizia* and was able to obtain the “protection and favor of the Commune.”¹²¹ Neri’s anticipated “addition” was some further, and probably more immediate, form of public funding. But, perhaps most importantly, Francesco Giovanni says that in light of the negative financial situation and the anticipated, although eventually unrealized, addition by Neri di Gino Capponi, the *Opera* decided to let things “stand” - or presumably, not to do anything at all about construction. It seems clear that as of April 1436, the construction of Brunelleschi’s Santo Spirito had not yet begun.

That Francesco Giovanni claimed that funding was insufficient “for such a building” also suggests that the *Opera* must have had some concept of how much the construction of their church would cost. This preliminary estimate was in all likelihood deduced from a plan and information provided directly Brunelleschi. Inspired by the site of their church *a braccia piccole*, and with one of their own ranks imminently awaiting the office of *gonfaloniere*, the *Opera* made one last bureaucratic maneuver in the hopes of obtaining more money. The *Mercanzia* record of April 21, 1436, which records the names of eight *operai* at Santo Spirito reveals that by increasing the number of its members from two in 1433[34] to eight in 1436, the *Opera* may have been attempting to increase representation, and therefore influence, in the city’s political councils.¹²² In fact two members of this *Opera* - Francesco di Tommaso Giovanni and Francesco di Niccolò del Benino - had been members of the *Signoria* when the salt tax revenue was assigned to Santo Spirito in March 1436.¹²³ Yet despite the swollen ranks of the *Opera* and Neri Capponi’s mandate as *gonfaloniere* in the summer of 1436, no further immediate communal funding was obtained.

¹²⁰ ASF, *Tratte*, 602, fol. 26v. : Neri di Gino Capponi served as *gonfaloniere* for a two-month term beginning on June 28, 1436.

¹²¹ Saalman, 1993, 109.

¹²² ASF, *Mercanzia*, 39r. For document, see Appendix A, Doc. 4.

¹²³ For the assignment of the salt tax revenue and list of *operai*, see Luporini, 1964, 230, Doc.1

Would the *Opera* then turn to private investment if immediate public funding was lacking? If so, to what degree? Manetti claimed that in his role as *provveditore*, Stoldo Frescobaldi accepted the responsibility of advancing any necessary funds for the project, with the hope of eventually being reimbursed. It is unlikely that a politically disenfranchised magnate like Stoldo Frescobaldi would dare to advance sufficient financial resources to begin actual construction. In mid fifteenth-century Florence, this could be interpreted as an affront or challenge to the communal institutions.¹²⁴ Furthermore, although the wealth of one or more patrons may have sufficed to finance construction, the real social and political prize for patrons was winning that financing in the councils of Palazzo Signoria. Although it was right around this time that Cosimo de'Medici was challenging this communal tradition in his role as sole patron of the Dominican church and convent of San Marco, the Frescobaldi were not the Medici.¹²⁵ At this embryonic stage of reconstruction, any private investment would have, by necessity, remained discreet. After having provided one or more plans and perhaps verbal descriptions of the elevation in order to establish preliminary cost estimates, the next logical step would lead us to imagine the possibility of a private commission for a wooden scale model from Brunelleschi. At the Hospital of San Paolo in Florence, the process was the same. In 1459, Michelozzo was paid "...for the measurements and the design and the way it [the *loggia*] was to be built."¹²⁶

The existence of a Brunelleschi model is confirmed by both of the documentary sources cited above. As the principal chapel owner in the old church, it is also possible that Stoldo Frescobaldi was the logical choice for paying for the model. Stoldo was one of the first two *operai* for the church and his presence on the *Opera* would persist for almost the entire construction of the church. His almost personal dedication to Santo Spirito was also demonstrated in 1458, when he "spontaneously and through his courtesy paid

¹²⁴ For the tradition of communal patronage in medieval and Renaissance Florence, see P. Gavitt, "Corporate Beneficence and Historical Narratives of Communal Well-Being", *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, New York, 2006, 138-160.

¹²⁵ For the discussion concerning the decline of communal and guild patronage and the rise of private subsidy for public enterprises, see G. Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, Los Angeles, 1969, 227-229.

¹²⁶ Goldthwaite, 1977, 237.

200 lire to remake the bell and so the convent is greatly obligated to him.”¹²⁷ Stoldo’s dedication to his quarter-church was demonstrated throughout his entire life, and the extreme proximity of his home to both the old and new churches of Santo Spirito may have made him a sort of “senior” *operaio*, which is perhaps why Manetti assigns him, albeit incorrectly, the title of *provveditore*.¹²⁸ As a sign of respect and esteem, the responsibility for paying for Brunelleschi’s model could very well have been his.

Surprisingly, with the exception of describing it as “very beautiful”, Manetti has very little to say concerning the model. Instead, the biographer goes on at length about Brunelleschi’s intentions and motivations for wanting to build the new church with its façade facing north or “opposite what it is today”, and why, for “unimportant motives”, it was not realized in such a way.¹²⁹ Although most scholars refer to this episode of the narrative, none has really examined it closely. Saalman proposes that Manetti is simply attempting to apply Albertian theory to Brunelleschi’s architecture, or to herald Brunelleschi as the originator of Alberti’s theory.¹³⁰ Alberti writes “but I have observed myself that the ancients in the situating of their smaller Temples or Chapels, generally turned their fronts so as they might be seen from the sea, or some river or great road.”¹³¹ But later, Saalman describes the potential appeal to church patrons of such an orientation, “The farther away the church could be seen, the farther the names and reputations of the church patrons extended. Visibility implied power.”¹³² So if such an orientation would have resulted in greater visibility for both church and patron, why was it not seen through?

In his account, Manetti vaguely accuses the “authorities” of “ruining” Brunelleschi’s intentions.¹³³ Writing a century later, Vasari, instead, offered a more specific explanation for not adopting the idea. He claimed that “Because certain people did not want to [reverse the church] so as not to ruin their

¹²⁷ ASF, CRS, 122, 88, 85r. Botto mentions that Stoldo Frescobaldi had paid for a new bell in 1458, but does not cite an archival source for his claim. See Botto, 1931, 38. For the document recording Stoldo’s donation for a new bell, see Appendix A, Doc. 8.

¹²⁸ For the location of Stoldo’s properties in relation to the church, see Chapter III.

¹²⁹ Manetti, (Saalman), 1970, 124.

¹³⁰ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 152, n. 178.

¹³¹ L. Alberti, *The Ten Books of Architecture*, New York, 1986, 89.

¹³² Saalman, 1993, 1970, 378.

¹³³ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 124.

homes, Filippo's wish did not take effect."¹³⁴ Vasari's words offer a significant elucidation of Manetti's cryptic words that the "authorities" had been responsible for ultimately rejecting Brunelleschi's plan to reverse the church. Namely, that the realization of such a plan would have required the destruction of a significant number of buildings owned by the very patrons of the church. Saalman describes the paradoxical situation, that is, greater visibility at the cost of their own private property, as a "two-edged sword, because several of the very chapel patrons had their substantial houses along the Via del Fondaccio."¹³⁵ Two chapel patron families in particular had vested interests in properties on the Via del Fondaccio (presently Via Santo Spirito) - the Frescobaldi and the Capponi. **(Fig. 28)**

The presence of Frescobaldi properties on the Via del Fondaccio dates back to the middle of the thirteenth century when Lamberto Frescobaldi funded the construction of the bridge of Santa Trinita and two palaces at the corner of Via del Fondaccio and the Via Maggio.¹³⁶ In fact, the presence of the family was so broadly manifest at the eastern end of the Via del Fondaccio, that the piazza there was named after them. But the Frescobaldi also owned property along the western end of the Via del Fondaccio, at the corner with the Via della Cicalia (now via dei Serragli), which is where the home and gardens of Stoldo and his brother, Lamberto di Leonardo were once located and where the family's seventeenth-century palace still stands today.¹³⁷ Buildings owned by the Capponi family also heavily marked the Via del Fondaccio in the "...area between Piazza Frescobaldi and the church of San Frediano" which "contained about half of their [Capponi's] houses."¹³⁸ It would appear that neither family saw the loss of home and property, in exchange for greater visibility by reversing the church, as a symmetrical exchange.¹³⁹ F.W. Kent writes, "Neri

¹³⁴ Vasari (Milanesi), 1878, II, "Ma perche certi per non rovinare le case loro non vollono, il desiderio di Filippo non hebbe effetto."

¹³⁵ Saalman, 1993, 378.

¹³⁶ For the Frescobaldi properties on the Via del Fondaccio, reference Chapter II, 3.

¹³⁷ For the ownership of homes and properties around the northern end of Santo Spirito, see Chapter II, 3.

¹³⁸ Kent, 1977, 232-233.

¹³⁹ Later, at San Lorenzo in Florence, Michelangelo would encounter a similar scenario, as surrounding homeowners were not particularly keen with the loss of property in order to accommodate his New Sactisty and Laurentian Library.

Capponi, though a powerful backer of the rebuilding, can hardly have approved a scheme which would have cut a swathe right through his own and his own lineage's houses."¹⁴⁰ Vasari explicitly claims that the reason the church was not reversed was that "...certain people did not want to so as not to ruin their homes."¹⁴¹ In fact, Manetti's reproach of the "authorities" for blocking Brunelleschi's plan may be explained by the fact that Neri di Gino Capponi had actually served as *gonfaloniere della giustizia* in 1436, at the very earliest phase of planning for the church. Perhaps posterity (and Manetti) had remembered the rejection of Brunelleschi's proposal as a sort of "executive order" given by a Santo Spirito resident and patron who held the highest political office of the commune.

With the creation of a working model sometime between 1436 and 1440, the *Opera* had only to wait for the eventual arrival of the public appropriations promised in 1436. If we can presume that construction began only with the actual arrival of public funds, the early months of 1440 represent the earliest period in which the construction of Santo Spirito could have actually begun. On Saturday January 30, 1439[1440], the *operai* of Santo Spirito received their first payment from the revenues of the salt tax appropriation assigned to them in 1435[36].¹⁴² The amount of the payment for the "construction...of the said church" was 500 lire. Although the amount, which was disbursed eight months late, is not notably significant, it is the first documented payment for the construction of the church. Between January 1439[1440] and 1441, the *Opera* received a total of 3250 lire, or approximately 812 ½ florins from the salt tax revenues.¹⁴³ After the three-year appropriation, which was effectively reduced to a two and one-third year appropriation due to the tardiness of payment, expired in 1442, there was a two-year period, from 1442 to 1444, during which no payments are recorded. Communal funding may have been suspended because of the notable debt amassed in the previous years from war campaigns against Lucca (1437) and Milan (1440). Disbursements resumed in October 1444, and between October 1444 and March 1446, the payments from

See, H. Saalman, "The New Sacristy of San Lorenzo before Michelangelo", *The Art Bulletin*, LXVII, 2, 1985, 199-228.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 233.

¹⁴¹ Vasari (Milanesi), 1878, 381.

¹⁴² ASF, *Mercanzia*, 273, fol. 97v.-98r. For document, see Appendix A, Doc. 4.

¹⁴³ Saalman, 1993, 347.

the *Mercanzia* to the *Opera* of Santo Spirito totaled 3,003 lire.¹⁴⁴ Combined with the earlier revenues, the total amount of communal funding received by the *Opera* between 1439[1440] and 1446 equaled 6,253 lire, or approximately 1,563¼ florins - an amount sufficient to at least begin the sustained construction of a church.¹⁴⁵

It is worth noting that, in addition to archival documentation, the very structure of Manetti's *Vita* supports the chronology proposed in this chapter. In fact the biography concludes with the description of the construction of Santo Spirito. Even with the possibility of "a possibly missing concluding portion of the work", as Saalman suggests in reference to the biography, the only structures not directly discussed by Manetti - the *exedra* (1439) and the lantern (1446) of Florence cathedral - are Brunelleschi's last.¹⁴⁶ So by inserting Santo Spirito into the last phase of the architect's life, and in spite of the 1428 date he provides, Manetti is implying a chronology for the church that falls into the early 1440s. In his *Lives of the Artists* of 1568, after concluding his account of Santo Spirito, Vasari proceeds immediately to the event of Brunelleschi's death.¹⁴⁷ In an unpublished *Vita* of Brunelleschi of 1731 by Carlo Tommaso Strozzi, the author describes the events at Santo Spirito as follows:

Having begun the new church of Santo Spirito around the year 1440, and not as Vasari says for the burning of the little old church which took place on the night of March 21, 1470, or thirty years after the beginning of the majestic structure, all thought was given to Filippo... Finally, already quite old, that is 69 years, on April 16, 1446, he passed onto a better life.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ At Santa Croce, the Commune had promised 2,000 florins for the reconstruction of the convent dormitory. See Saalman, 1993, 224. Ludovico Gonzaga had promised the same amount, 2000 florins for the construction of the *tribuna* of Santissima Annunziata. See Brown, 1981, 63-64.

¹⁴⁶ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 11. I agree with Saalman that there may be a lost/unknown portion(s) of Manetti's *Vita* because of the biographer's omission of the "door controversy" which was contemporaneous to his writing.

¹⁴⁷ Vasari (Milanesi), 1878, 382: "This work [Santo Spirito] likewise made him [famous] for a truly divine ingeniousness." In the next paragraph, Vasari writes, "Finally, having become very old, that is sixty-nine years old, on April 16, 1446, he passed to a better life..."

¹⁴⁸ ASF, *Carte Stroziane III*, 15, fol. 17r. For a full transcription of the document, see Appendix A, Doc. 5.

Although the later writers may be basing their own chronological structure on Manetti's earlier account, in so doing, there is a clear implication that they concur in placing Santo Spirito at the end of the architect's life.

3.) Building History

So if the construction of Santo Spirito began some time after 1440, how much of it was completed before Brunelleschi's death on April 15, 1446? Manetti claims that work began with the laying of foundations in the northeastern corner of what would eventually become the new church "toward the Via del Fondaccio outside the old church", but was interrupted shortly thereafter because of the city's "misfortunes."¹⁴⁹ A "first phase" of construction is in fact supported by the documentary evidence, and would most likely have taken place between the years 1440 and 1442 with the arrival of modest communal funding in January 1439[1440]. Logically, the first step of actual construction would have involved the laying of partial foundations. *Fondatori*, or "masters of foundations" would have been commissioned by the *Opera* and directed by Brunelleschi to apply their art in an area probably not occupied by the old convent complex and/or surrounding buildings – that is, the northeastern corner of the new church. This scenario not only corresponds with Manetti's description, but also presents a cost effective beginning to construction. The limited *cantiere* need not have worried itself yet with demolition to make way for the *fondatori* and their foundations. This scenario, in light of the limited available funds, would have saved the *Opera* considerable labor expense.¹⁵⁰

The "second phase" of construction would then have begun in October 1444, with communal appropriations restored, and ended around April 16, 1446, with the death of the architect. I believe this phase would have involved the beginnings of the actual elevation of the church over the partial foundations. This construction assessment is supported by the language of the documents concerning the salt tax appropriation renewal of June 1444 and April 1445, which describes the church as "newly begun" and as "already in good part constructed (*prodocta*)" respectively. Only the presence of actual "standing"

¹⁴⁹ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 124-126.

¹⁵⁰ Benevolo, 1968, 48

architecture could explain such a progressive description of the state of construction over a ten-month period.

Manetti's summary appraisal of the state of construction at the time of Brunelleschi's death also supports the idea of the elevation having been begun during the architect's lifetime. He writes that Brunelleschi "... began it, and founded some chapels and erected a part of it in his day."¹⁵¹ If in fact any part of the church was erected during Brunelleschi's lifetime, all the evidence suggests it would have been in the northeastern corner of the new church. The biographer's comment concerning "the projection of the material toward the exterior" is significant in ascertaining the state and location of construction during Brunelleschi's last years.¹⁵² All scholarship concurs that Brunelleschi originally intended the chapels surrounding the church to appear in their semicircular form on the exterior of the church as well.¹⁵³ The chapels referred to by Manetti are probably three of the four chapels on the eastern side of the eastern crossing arm, and a single chapel at the northeastern corner of the northern arm of the church. Only these four chapels received exterior cornices, one of which is still visible. **(Fig.'s 29 & 15)** Saalman offers a succinct assessment of the chapel cornices:

Stegmann seems to have been the first to observe that three chapels on the eastern crossing arm had exterior cornices under the extrados of the chapel domes, visible from the accessible spaces between the exterior of the chapels and the enclosing perimeter wall. Benevolo may be right in his suggestion that a fragment of cornice at the base of the chapel in the northeastern corner of the northern arm facing Via dei Coverelli, indicates Brunelleschi's intention of having a continuous cornice at the base of the chapels as well as the top.¹⁵⁴

In fact, Benevolo is the only scholar who proposes a hypothetical progression of the early construction, albeit without an accompanying chronology. After a careful examination of the chapel exteriors from the

¹⁵¹ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 126.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Manetti's statement is supported by late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century writings of Antonio Billi: "Fece il modello della chiesa di Santo Spirito , opera eccellente benchè non fù seguito interamente lo ordine suo, nè nelle porte, nè nel ricidimento di fuori, che si aveva a dimostrare nel modo che esso era dentro...", A. Billi (F. Benedettucci), *Il Libro di Antonio Billi* , Rome, 1991, 32 -33.

¹⁵⁴ Saalman, 1993, 363-364.

accessible spaces between chapels and their enclosing perimeter wall, Benevolo was able to categorize four chapel types as follows:¹⁵⁵

Table 5:

Chapel Types (Fig. 30)

A. Three cylindrical chapels with upper and lower exterior moldings. These chapels are located in the eastern transept arm.
B. Fifteen chapels, similar in shape to the first three, with a brick arch backing the interior <i>pietra serena</i> arch above each chapel, but without exterior moldings. These chapels are located in the northwest, west, and southwest arm ends.
C. Seven chapels that are cylindrical at the base and then polygonal beginning at a height of 3m from the ground. These chapels are mainly located in the northeast corner of the church.
D. Four entirely polygonal chapels with no brick arches and no exterior moldings. These chapels are located in the western side of the nave, beginning at the sacristy and continuing towards the façade.

The presence of external moldings on the type “A” chapels clearly indicates an intention of external visibility for these chapels, as was originally intended by Brunelleschi. Benevolo is most probably correct in presuming that these were the first chapels to be constructed, and that they were probably completed during Brunelleschi’s final years. Those chapels with polygonal forms would have been constructed once the definitive decision was made to abandon the undulating perimeter wall for a rectilinear one, which decision shall be addressed in Chapter III.

If the three chapels which received external cornices (type A) in the eastern arm of the church were semi-circular in plan, so too were the fifteen chapels (type B) beginning in the northwestern corner of the northern arm and extending four bays into the western part of the nave. **(Fig. 31)** Since elevation follows plan, we can presume that the undulating foundations laid below these chapels were part of this first building campaign. In addition, these type B chapels lack exterior cornices. This might be interpreted as indicating that, at

¹⁵⁵ Benevolo, 1968, 43-46. Benevolo was not able to examine the eastern nave chapels, but presumes they are polygonal like their counterparts on the western side of the nave.

the time of their construction, the decision to enclose the projecting chapels within a rectilinear wall had already been made, so that the external articulation of the chapels would have been unnecessary. This is indeed the logic behind Benevolo's presumption that only the chapels with exterior cornices could have been built under Brunelleschi's direction since they suggest an exterior visibility for the chapels. Therefore, the decision to abandon the extruding chapel design must have been made during the period between the construction of the type A and type B chapels, that is, before and slightly after Brunelleschi's death in April 1446.

I believe, instead, that the lack of exterior elements on the type B chapels is simply the result of the chapels' contiguity to extant buildings and/or the convent complex, which would prevent their being visible. **(Fig. 1)** It may very well have been Brunelleschi himself who ordered the chapels built with a semi-circular plan, but without superfluous exterior moldings since the chapel exteriors would have been obstructed by the adjacent buildings. This scenario would then suggest that the state of construction around the time of Brunelleschi's death was not necessarily limited, as Benevolo, Luporini and Quinterio suggest, to the three eastern chapels that received exterior cornices, but may have encompassed the greater part of the crossing area of the new church.¹⁵⁶ It would also suggest that the decision to build the rectilinear enclosing wall was not made in a period close to Brunelleschi's death. Such a hypothesis regarding the decision to enclose the semi-circular chapels within a mantling wall shall be confirmed by archival evidence presented in Chapter III.

Surprisingly, the remaining chapels in the eastern side of the crossing (type C) are polygonal in shape. A polygonal shape to the chapels would facilitate their enclosure within a rectilinear wall, and therefore suggests that these chapels were constructed during a later period, after the decision to enclose them had been made. However, after close examination of the chapel immediately south of the three type A chapels in the eastern arm, Benevolo discovered that the chapel is actually cylindrical at its base and morphs into a polygonal form at a height of three meters from ground level. This would suggest that the construction of these chapels actually began during this early phase, but was completed only after the decision to build the mantling was

¹⁵⁶ Benevolo, 1968, 48; Luporini, 1964, 158; Quinterio, 1992, 310.

made. This hypothesis is also confirmed by archival sources discussed in Chapter III. Although Benevolo was not able to view the bases of the other six type C chapels, he was most likely correct in assuming that they are also semicircular in their lower portions.¹⁵⁷ This would not only suggest that these seven chapels were also at least begun during the Brunelleschian period of construction in the 1440s, but so too was the precise plan of the foundations laid around the time of Brunelleschi that delineate the entire area of the church delineated by the chapel types A, B and C. **(Fig. 31)**

Of the twenty-four chapels that delineate the crossing of Santo Spirito, Benevolo was not able to examine three due to their inaccessibility. I believe it is safe to presume that these three chapels, which have been marked with a question mark in Benevolo's plan, would fall into either the type B or C category due to their location and proximity to these chapel types. So if all of the chapels in the crossing area of the church were either begun or actually realized to a certain extent in a semicircular form, several fundamental conclusions can be made. The first is that the entire crossing area, and perhaps even part of the nave, of Santo Spirito was under construction, in at least foundation form, around the time of Brunelleschi's death, in accordance with the architect's original plan for extruding semicircular chapels. Secondly, that the transformation of the cylindrical to polygonal form of the type C chapel indicates that the decision to build a rectilinear enclosing wall for the church was made before the completion of the perimeter wall of the eastern side of the crossing, or why else abandon semi-circular bases for polygonal chapels. Considering the sporadic and limited disbursements of communal funding in the earlier part of the decade, it is implausible to imagine that the entire exterior of the crossing area was completed in the 1440s. But it is highly plausible that a much more significant part of the church was realized around Brunelleschi's lifetime than has previously been imagined.

The last piece of documentary evidence concerning the state of construction prior to the architect's death on April 15, 1446 supports this assessment. An entry from the "*Libretto* of the Deliberations of the Opera" dated April 5, 1446, a mere ten days before Brunelleschi's death, stipulates an order on the part of the *Opera* to the stonemason Giovanni Pieroni for five

¹⁵⁷ Benevolo, 1968, 46.

columns for a total cost of 90 florins.¹⁵⁸ Although several scholars have misread this document as indicating the arrival of the first column at the *cantiere*, Luporini correctly points out that the document records neither payment for, nor delivery of a column, but merely stipulates the ordering of the columns.¹⁵⁹ Luporini imagines these five columns as destined for the eastern arm of the church, eventually separating the nave from the side aisle. **(Fig. 37)** According to Benevolo, the fact that construction was limited to such a concise area of the church reveals the intent to create a “sample” section by which to complete the rest of the church. We can logically presume, therefore, that with construction proceeding on at least three exterior chapels, Brunelleschi was now also preparing the internal architectural elements of the elevation. That these columns were ordered during the architect’s lifetime is also a clear indication that Brunelleschi was responsible for their design. Benevolo maintains that “many standardized architectural elements were either being made or were already on the worksite... including: engaged capitals with saddle volutes, engaged column shafts, column bases, window moldings, cornices etc.” which would have guaranteed a certain consistency in the architectural elements of the church, at least through the height of the first order.¹⁶⁰

In light of the evidence presented in this chapter, a new and definitive chronology of this early Brunelleschian period of construction emerges. The formation of the first two-man *Opera* in 1433[1434] marks the beginning, at least at an administrative level, of the project. Patron-architect relations must have been established shortly thereafter, and some preliminary plan or project was drawn up around 1435, or shortly before the first public appropriations were assigned in 1436. During the three-year period between the assignment and delivery of funds, the *Opera*, or perhaps its most prestigious member, Stoldo Frescobaldi, employed Brunelleschi in the construction of a wooden model for the church. Once funding arrived in 1440, actual construction, most probably at a foundation level, commenced. With the suspension of funding between 1442 and 1444, work progressed slowly, if at all. When communal disbursements

¹⁵⁸ ASF, *Carte Stroziane II*, 93, f. 9v. First cited and transcribed by Fabriczy, 1907, 213. For document, see Appendix A, Doc. 6.

¹⁵⁹ Luporini, 1964, 158.

¹⁶⁰ Benevolo, 1968, 49: “...erano già pronti in cantiere per il montaggio, o in fase di lavorazione alcune serie di pezzi normalizzati tra cui: semicapitelli con volute a sella, fusti di semicolonne, basi, mostre di finestre, cornici, ecc.”

resumed in 1444, so too did steady construction which included the elevation of at least three chapels at the eastern side of the eastern arm of the church. By April 5, 1446, Brunelleschi had prepared designs for at least the crossing columns and the surrounding architectural detailing. Ten days later, the architect died. What he left behind - a ground plan, a wooden model, partial foundations, standing chapels, and the designs for columns and architectural *accoutrement* - should have guaranteed an architectural continuity through at least the first order of the church. Instead, Brunelleschi's heirs at Santo Spirito would find this inheritance insufficient.

Chapter II:
The *Opera*, the *Quartiere* and Brunelleschi's Architectural Inheritance
(1446-1471)

As has been shown in the Introduction, the period comprising the three decades following Brunelleschi's death in 1446 represents the most significant *lacuna* in the construction history of Santo Spirito. Scholars have understandably focused their attention mainly on the role of Brunelleschi and the early machinations of the *Opera*.¹ It is of course this initial period of artistic conceptualization and bureaucratic activity that most commonly defines the artistic and historical identity of a building. The need to establish a start date for the construction of Santo Spirito, so as to properly insert the church into the architectural *oeuvre* of Brunelleschi, has produced a rather misleading picture of construction, as scholarly attention has focused primarily on the period of construction that coincides with the life of Brunelleschi. As discussed in the previous chapter, scholars have distorted the chronology of this early period in an attempt to prolong the period of direct involvement on the part of Brunelleschi. This is, in part, the result of the limited amount of specifically construction related information available in the extant archival documentation concerning this early period. Scholars have interpreted the limited archival information somewhat freely in order to present construction histories that accommodate a significant role for the architect and an advanced state of construction of the church by the time of his death. Yet, in light of the vivid picture presented in the previous chapter regarding the rather limited state of construction at the time of the architect's death, it is the period that immediately follows which defines Brunelleschi's architectural inheritance and how it was received by both architects and patrons alike.

Extant archival documentation concerning this period is very scarce, and is essentially limited to a small notebook in the state archives of Florence

¹ Battisti, Benevolo, Fabriczy, Loporini, and Saalman all essentially focus their scholarship on the very initial period of the construction history. Botto and Quinterio instead address both the early (1428-1446) and later (1477-1484) periods of construction, but largely overlook the middle period of construction from 1446-1471.

entitled the *Libretto di deliberazioni degli operai di Santo Spirito 1439-1461*.² The *Libretto* records *Opera* activity during the crucial fifteen-year period following Brunelleschi's death - that is from 1446 to 1461. This vital source of information has been almost entirely overlooked by scholars due, at least in part I believe, to the particularly difficult calligraphy of its author.³ The omission of the information recorded in the *Libretto* has created a chronological void in the published construction histories of Santo Spirito.⁴ With very few exceptions, scholars have taken the myopic view of addressing the Brunelleschian history of the church [1428-1446], and then addressing the subsequent theoretical deviations made by later architects [1471-1484]. What is overlooked is the intervening period with its story of how the *cantiere* and the *Opera* managed the death of the architect and the continuation of the building project. It is specifically this period [1446-1471] that is the focus of the present chapter.

In the immediate wake of Brunelleschi's death, notwithstanding the emotional and practical impact of the loss of their revered architect, it was most likely business as usual at the Santo Spirito *cantiere*. Brunelleschi had left behind more than sufficient indication of how work should progress, at least for the immediate future. In addition to a wooden model with a clear ground plan and an at least approximate elevation of the church, partial foundations and several standing chapels would have provided workers with a clear "sample" of architecture that could simply be extended in order to realize the perimeter of the church. Corner resolution, interior members, vaulting, and facade solutions could be dealt with when the time came, which, as we shall see, would not be for quite a few years. The *Opera*, on the other hand, could console itself with the collective twenty-five years of appropriations from the salt tax revenues

² ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93. Nearly all of the archival information presented in this chapter is unpublished. It is worth noting that the *Libretto* was written by the Florentine notary Gualtiero di Ser Lorenzo da Ghiacceto (ASF, *Carte Stroziane* II, 93, 12r.). For a full transcription of this archival source, see Appendix A, Doc. 6.

³ I am indebted to the late Gino Corti and Rab Hatfield for their assistance in transcribing the *Libretto*.

⁴ The construction history of Santo Spirito from 1471 to its completion in 1487 is well documented in other similar documentary sources called the *Libro debitori e creditori* which have overlapping chronologies of 1471-1481 and 1477-1496 (ASF, CRS, CXXII, 127 and 128). These subsequent archival sources shall be discussed in Chapter III.

assigned to them in January 1444 and April 1445.⁵ Excepting a war, funding for the completion of the church appeared to have been guaranteed. All things considered, at first sight, it would seem that Brunelleschi had left a healthy and promising church construction project behind at Santo Spirito.

The information contained within the *Libretto*, the majority of which is presented here for the first time, provides significant and comprehensive insight into the least-known period of the church's construction history, between 1446 and 1471. In contrast to the view of general stagnation on the part of both the *Opera* and the *cantiere* presented in most of the literature concerning Santo Spirito, in the years following Brunelleschi's death, the *Libretto* records the almost frenetic financial activity of the *Opera* and a bustling worksite.⁶ In fact, the general tone of the *Libretto* is almost one of urgency regarding the financial situation of the *Opera*. After a decade of struggle between the *Opera* and the commune in order to arrange public funding for the church, the *Opera* now turned its energies towards the residents of its very *quartiere* and primarily sought to recover outstanding debts. Ruthless on certain occasions, such as when it threatened its own officials with debtors' prison for not recovering others' debts, or when the *Opera* threatened to strip chapels of the coats of arms of their respective owners for delinquent payment, the *operai* were clearly determined to fulfill their responsibilities.

The collection of outstanding debts, a general assessment of the actual and potential assets of the *Opera*, general book keeping, and the concession of private family chapels were what, in fact, the *Opera* was managing immediately after Brunelleschi's death. It appears that the *Opera*, or some of its members, may have realized that although communal funding was theoretically ensured for many years to come, it would probably be insufficient to ensure the completion of the church. An entry in the *Libretto* dated April 5, 1446, regarding an order for five columns, supports such a scenario.⁷ The order records a total cost of 90 florins for five columns. Therefore, each individual, and presumably finished, *pietra serena* column would cost 18 florins. Considering that there are thirty-one freestanding *pietra serena* columns in Santo Spirito today, the total cost for the columns alone would amount to 558 florins. This of course does not

⁵ For the salt-tax appropriation, see Chapter I, 2.

⁶ For scholars who claim that very little occurred in terms of construction immediately after Brunelleschi's death, see the Introduction.

⁷ For a discussion of this document, see Chapter I, 3.

take into consideration all of the engaged columns, nor crossing piers. Furthermore, building materials were the least of the *Opera*'s financial worries. As Goldthwaite points out, labor was the major expense for any building project,

The construction industry was labor intensive, with even the cost of materials representing primarily labor charges, and all the labor was concentrated in an area extending no farther beyond the city walls than the quarries and kilns that supplied materials.⁸

Goldthwaite goes on to project the costs of various building projects in Florence, including, in part, Santo Spirito. He claims that during the fourteen-year period between 1477 and 1491, the *Opera* at Santo Spirito recorded disbursements for a total of l. 83,172, or approximately 12,800 florins.⁹ This would result in an average annual expense of approximately 914 florins per year. As has previously been shown, the total amount of public funding from salt tax revenues received by the *Opera* during the seven-year period between 1439 and 1446 was 1,563 and ¼ florins - roughly the equivalent of single year of building costs.¹⁰ In light of this, a certain financial anxiety on the part of the *Opera* is comprehensible.

Although the *Opera* had secured public funding for the project for another quarter of a century, its financial responsibilities were far from over. Once public funding was guaranteed, the *Opera* diverted its energies from the communal councils into the *quartiere* itself. Now, tax revenues needed to be systematically collected, debts consolidated, and outstanding debtors dealt with, using the full power of the office of the *Opera* as delegated by both the commune and the *quartiere*. The *Opera* would also need to provide for sources of funding beyond those assigned by the commune. In the ecclesiastical building tradition of Florence, this private funding could be most substantially obtained through the concession of family chapels within the church itself. In the midst of all its financial and bureaucratic dealings, the *Opera* also needed to remain focused on its most essential responsibility - construction.

⁸ Goldthwaite, 1980, 399.

⁹ Ibid. Goldthwaite does not include any archival data to support this figure, which, in comparison to the construction costs presented in Chap. III, 1, appears to be somewhat overinflated, particularly since the church was completed in 1481.

¹⁰ For revenues from salt tax, see Chap. I, 2.

This chapter will examine the role and responsibilities of the *Opera* at Santo Spirito during the particularly murky historical period between 1446 and 1461, as recorded and described in the almost entirely unpublished records of the *Libretto*. In addition to specifically defining the various offices of the *Opera* and identifying the individuals who held them, particular attention will be given to how the machinations of the *Opera* reflect the progression of construction of the actual church. This progression is most markedly reflected in the records of private family chapel concessions that began in 1455. That chapels were being sold within nine years of Brunelleschi's death is, as we shall see, a clear indicator that multiple chapels were actually being built in the crossing of the church in the period immediately after the death of the architect. The order of families to whom these chapels were sold also reveals a clear social hierarchy amongst the families within the quarter, most of whom had also provided *operai* at Santo Spirito. Lastly, this chapter will also specifically address the issue of building. It is in the records of the *Libretto* that the presence of builders and building material suppliers first appear in the known archival sources regarding the construction of the church. Although their responsibilities are not always clearly defined, inserted into the context of the contemporaneous *Opera* history, for the first time, a rather vivid picture of construction begins to emerge during a period about which very little was known previously.

1.) The *Opera*: 1446-1461

In light of the new responsibilities and challenges now facing the *Opera*, it is logical that its first decision would be to define and consolidate its own management structure, clearly establishing the respective duties of the various internal and external offices dealing with the *Opera*. The first entry into the *Libretto* is dated February 27, 1445 [1446], about one and a half months before Brunelleschi's death, and records the names of the five active *operai* as:

Tommaso di Bartolomeo Corbinelli
Lorenzo di Gino Capponi
Pietro di Gregorio del Benino
Bernardo di Lorenzo Ridolfi

Curiously, the eight-man *Opera* of 1436 was at this point reduced to five members.¹² Perhaps having already secured public funding, there was no longer a need for increased numbers in the city's councils. Of the original eight *operai*, only two - Lorenzo di Gino Capponi and Piero di Goro del Benino - would reappear in this later five-man *Opera*, while the remaining three *operai* were either family members of the earlier *operai*, or, in the case of Stoldo Frescobaldi, a member of the first two-man *Opera* of 1434.

The first act of the new *Opera* was to decide that

... the *provveditore* or someone in his name can sell any possession of the said *operai* to any person for any price, not only in cash, for the value of the said possession, or also loan (*dare in comodato*) to someone any possession of the said *Opera* without the declared permission of the said *operai*. We order that the said *provveditore* observe the aforementioned things.¹³

This is the first documented mention of a *provveditore* at the Santo Spirito project, albeit the document does not indicate his identity. What is clear though is that the *operai* had decided to give the *provveditore* explicit executive authority over the sale and administration of the *Opera*'s collective patrimony. Perhaps their motivation was to simplify and expedite the process of the sales and loans of real estate, which may have become bogged down by the sporadic meetings of the *Opera*. If the *provveditore* were free to make such transactions without the consent of the *operai*, it would of course render their profits more immediate and the process more efficient.

¹¹ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 9r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

¹² There does not appear to be a fixed or traditional number of *operai* at the various building projects in medieval and Renaissance Florence. The original constitution of the Wool Guild, which provided the *operai* for Florence Cathedral, of 1333, indicates that the *Opera* would consist of four *operai* (whose terms of office lasted four months), a *camerlengo*, and a notary (Haines, 1996, 290). By 1337, the term of office of an *operaio* was extended to six months. By 1366, the number of *operai* was increased to eight. In 1410, the definitive number of six *operai* serving four-month terms was established (See D. Zervas, *The Parte Guelfa, Brunelleschi & Donatello*, Florence, 1987, 339-340). At Santo Spirito, there were as few as two and as many as eight *operai* serving at one time, although the most consistent number was five.

¹³ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 9r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

Although the office of *provveditore* is standard at any of the communal building sites in medieval and Renaissance Florence, very little scholarly attention has been given to his actual role and responsibilities.¹⁴ Diane Zervas notes that the position of *provveditore* at Florence cathedral was created sometime in the 1350s in order “to lighten the responsibilities of the *operai* and *camerlengo*.”¹⁵ In his *The Building of Renaissance Florence*, Goldthwaite defines the *provveditore* as

... something like a business manager whose responsibilities complemented the technical operations that were in the hands of the foreman. He was involved in actual construction to the extent that he made arrangements for supply, checked on deliveries, and looked out for the security of the workshop. In addition, he was in charge of the financial administration - making disbursements and keeping the accounts.¹⁶

The information contained within the *Libretto* reveals that the main role of the *provveditore* at Santo Spirito would in fact be one of financial administration.

A later entry in the *Libretto*, dated April 5, 1446, reveals the identity of the *provveditore*.¹⁷ Bernardo di Bartolomeo del Benino had been elected as the *provveditore* of the *Opera* of Santo Spirito for the retroactive period that began on the October 15, 1445. Why they would record this six months after his election is not clear. It seems unlikely that the entry is suggesting a reelection, as it would not correspond to an annual or bi-annual term. Perhaps the discussion was simply intended to reiterate the powers that had been given to the *provveditore* a couple of months before, and more specifically, to identify the man in whom that power resided. The document also indicates that the *provedditore* was to receive a salary that “...would be declared elsewhere.”¹⁸

Sixteen days later, on April 21, 1446, the *Opera* decided to assign the previously deceased Gherardo di Leonardo Frescobaldi, who is described as a former *provveditore*, a retroactive salary of 225 florins “...for all the time of

¹⁴ Goldthwaite, 1980, 159.

¹⁵ Zervas, 1987, 338-339.

¹⁶ Goldthwaite, 1980, 160.

¹⁷ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 9v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.) The only other scholar who has hitherto identified *provveditori* at Santo Spirito is Botto, although he only identifies the *provveditori* from the later period of construction beginning in 1477 (Botto, 1931, 501).

¹⁸ Ibid.

service to the said *opera* until the time of his death... and that the money be placed in his account.”¹⁹ Gherardo Frescobaldi [1394-1443], Stoldo Frescobaldi’s older brother, is not mentioned as either an *operaio* or a *provveditore* in any of the earlier known documentation regarding Santo Spirito.²⁰ That he would appear as no less than a former *provveditore* could simply be a result of the fragmentary extant records concerning the early days of the *Opera*. What is even more confusing is that Stoldo Frescobaldi [1403-1484] has always been identified as the early *provveditore* from the Frescobaldi family, due mainly to Manetti’s claim in his *Vita* that he served in this role.²¹ It clearly appears that once again Manetti got his facts, or, in this case, his brothers crossed. Perhaps Stoldo Frescobaldi did advance funds in the early days of the project, specifically for the wooden model of the church as has been suggested in the previous chapter. But it was Gherardo Frescobaldi who served in the official role of *provveditore*. Moreover, the entry speaks of a “salary” for “service”, not “reimbursement” for any theoretically advanced funds. The amount indicated - 225 florins - is not negligible. If Gherardo died in 1443, and the first recorded *Opera* at Santo Spirito was created in 1434, then he may have served in this role for a maximum of 9 years. This would result in a minimal annual salary of 25 florins. A later document from the *Libretto* confirms the 25 florin annual salary for the *provveditore* at Santo Spirito.²² Of course, this amount is not a notable one for someone of the economic and social standing of a Frescobaldi, but it may rather indirectly provide us with the answer to the “to be declared elsewhere...” question regarding Del Benino’s salary as a later *provveditore*. Such a salary is in line with those of other *provveditori* in Florence. At the Hospital of the Innocents in Florence, for example, the *provveditore* received a somewhat higher annual salary of 36 florins.²³

Paradoxically, the same entry in the *Libretto* records the election of a certain Bono di Giovanni Boni as the *camerlengo* “without any salary as it was

¹⁹ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 10r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

²⁰ For the Frescobaldi family, see D. Frescobaldi and F. Solinas, *I Frescobaldi: Una famiglia fiorentina*, Florence, 2004.

²¹ Manetti (Salmaan), 1970, 122. For Manetti’s account, see Chap. I, 2.

²² ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 11v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

²³ Goldthwaite, 1980, 163. Although in the later construction of the Loggia dei Serviti (1516-1526), the *provveditore* received an annual salary of circa 13 florins per year. See V. Tomasi, “L’organizzazione dei cantieri in epoca rinascimentale”, *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome*, Rome, 2007, 308.

in the past, for a period extending up to the entire month of April 1447.”²⁴ The lack of compensation for the *camerlengo* for an entire year of service is explained in a previous passage where Boni is described as a “debtor of 100 lire” (or approximately 25 florins) to the *Opera*. So presumably Boni would be compensating his debts through his service to the *Opera*. It would also appear that the salaries of the *provveditore* and the *camerlengo* were attuned. Goldthwaite defines the *camerlengo* as a “treasurer who handled all payments for construction expenses on written order from the purveyor.”²⁵ So although the *camerlengo* presumably received his orders from the *provveditore*, their comparable salaries would indicate a comparable importance of their offices.

The *Opera* would not meet again for almost an entire year. When it finally did on January 25, 1446 [1447], it immediately expressed concern for its financial situation:

...the *provveditore* of the said *Opera* will be dismissed from his office if he does not provide, within one month from now, a list of the debtors of a minimal sum of ten lire to the said *Opera* to Ser Niccolò so that they are obliged to pay the *camerlengo* of the said *Opera* and, should they not pay, they be personally fined on their possessions²⁶

The “Ser Niccolò” to whom they refer is Niccolò di Valentino, a Florentine notary who was appointed as the notary of the *Opera* that same day. But what emerges from this document is the significant role of the *provveditore* as the financial overseer for the *Opera*. It would be his responsibility to identify those individuals with outstanding debts to the *Opera*, and through the legal authority of a notary, to enforce either restitution of debt or financial penalties to be executed on their private patrimony. The entry also makes it clear that the *provveditore* was accountable to the *Opera* should he not perform his explicit duties, under threat of being removed from office.²⁷ Surprisingly, the *Opera* also elected Niccolò di Amerigo Frescobaldi as *camerlengo* even though Boni

²⁴ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 10r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

²⁵ Goldthwaite, 1980, 161.

²⁶ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 10r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

²⁷ A clear hierarchical relationship between the *Opera* and *provveditore* is supported by Goldthwaite, 1980, 165: “The purveyor was clearly their [*operai*] agent, and their numerous detailed instructions, often written down by the staff notary, reveal how closely they followed the work and how much they kept the purveyor in tow.”

still had three months left to his term. The entry also states that Frescobaldi would begin serving as *camerlengo* only after Boni had been paid “that which for quite some time he had been owed by the *Opera*”, which of course contradicts the earlier decision that Boni would work “without salary” from April 1446 to April 1447. Perhaps Boni and the *Opera* had some type of falling out regarding their mutual financial standings.

At a meeting four months later, the *Opera* would again discuss financial matters specifically regarding debtors to the *Opera*. On May 20, 1447, the *Opera* deliberated that

Antonio di Giovanni Benci, Florentine citizen, who is a debtor to the said *Opera* for the amount of 37 lire 5 soldi and 4 denari *piccioli*, because he said he made a deal with the former *provveditore* of the said *Opera* Gherardo [Frescobaldi] for a sale of a house to the *Opera*; and for the six months that his payment of 400 florins [for the house] was withheld, he lost the rent [from the house]. He claims that he does not need to pay the said money, but should be compensated for the lost rent. Each time Antonio wants to give or not give any bit of the said amount, he stands by his opinion, worsening his conscience²⁸

Although in this case, it would be the “conscience” of the debtor that might compel him to pay an outstanding debt, it also seems that the *operai* did in fact resort to legal action when necessary. The same entry records the judicial action taken against the heir of a certain “Madonna Pagliola, widow of Antonio Brunelli da Castello San Giovanni in the court of the Podestà in Castello San Giovanni” for an outstanding debt of 50 gold florins.²⁹ A clear plan was drawn up for the repayment of the loan - 10 florins would be paid within the following six months, and then 3 ½ florins every six months until the entire amount was repaid. Stoldo Frescobaldi, one of the *operai*, is described as guarantor for the repayment of the loan. Clearly, a significant amount of the *operai*’s time and energy was concentrated on financial matters.

Three years would pass before the *Opera* would again convene. The same five *operai* recorded in the opening entry of the *Libretto*, dated February 27, 1445[1446], appear again in the entry of July 20, 1450.³⁰ Surprisingly, not a single *operaio* had changed. The normal term of the *operai* in the later

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ ASF, *Carte Strozziene*, II, 93, 11r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

³⁰ ASF, *Carte Strozziene*, II, 93, 11v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

construction history of the church was two years. That a limited number of men from a particular quarter or parish would serve repeatedly on an *Opera* was quite common.³¹ These men were usually the most wealthy or influential in a particular urban district or neighborhood. But to have the same men sitting on an *Opera* for a half decade would almost suggest a localized administrative oligarchy. Eckstein argues that a "... a citizen's success in the commune's highest offices depended largely on the extent to which he was supported by a strong web of patron/client relations forged in the neighborhood."³² Clearly, being chosen to serve on the *Opera* was also a reflection of the socio-political weight of a man within the neighborhood. But, it also may have been the experience of these near-permanent *operai* in the campaign to recover outstanding debts to the *Opera* that kept them employed for so long. It was these five *operai* who were most familiar with the names and status of debtors. To introduce new *operai*, might be to reduce the efficiency of the *Opera*. The residents of the quarter and the Augustinian friars may have even welcomed the continuity as long as it was accompanied by results. So more than a localized oligarchy, the quasi-permanent *operai* may have represented a localized *balia*, in that the same *operai* would serve for as long a period as necessary to consolidate the finances of the *cantiere*.³³

On this same day in July 1450, the *Opera*, meeting in the palace of the Silk Guild, decided that:

³¹ Haines (1996, 274) cites two such examples of prolonged membership on construction councils at Santa Maria del Fiore in order to guarantee continuity - the four "Officials of the Dome" who served from 1419-1423 and the "Officials of the Sacristy" who served from 1413-1426. See also M. Haines, "Oligarchy and Opera", *Florence and Beyond: Culture, Society, and Politics in Renaissance Italy (Essays in Honour of John M. Najemy)*, Toronto, 2008, 153-177. In her study of the *Opera* at Orsanmichele, Diane Zervas also provides examples of prolonged *Opera* membership for several important projects related to the church. See D. Zervas, "Orsanmichele and its *Operai*", *Opera: Carattere e ruolo delle fabbriche cittadine fino all'inizio dell'Età Moderna*, Florence, 1996, 324.

³² Eckstein, 1995, 139.

³³ For *balie*, see N. Rubinstein, *The Government of Florence under the Medici (1434-1494)*, New York, 1966, 77-98. Although the extraordinary institution of the *balia* - councils that were granted special executive powers during times of war or for issues regarding domestic security - originally had a brief duration, the Medici began to extend the duration of their handpicked *balie* as a means to control Florence.

The *provveditore* must notify all the debtors of the *Opera* that they must pay their debts in full to the *Opera* within 15 days, otherwise they will be sent to debtors' prison, and if within this time they do not pay, the said *provveditore* will immediately send them to debtor's prison, and if he fails to do so, will be deprived of his office.³⁴

It appears that the patience of the *Opera* had run out. Unsatisfied with the results of simple requests or fining of debtors, the *Opera* had turned to that most humiliating of institutions - *lo specchio*, or debtors' prison.³⁵

What is most remarkable is the threat made to the *provveditore* that should he not immediately fulfill his obligation to send debtors to prison, he would be removed from his office. Was this ultimatum an attempt to force the *provveditore* into action? To force him to act against people who may have been familiar to him? Should these debtors be neighbors, clients, tenants, or worst of all, relatives, the *provveditore's* reluctance to prosecute would spare them of public shame, but the result would be that it would fall on himself in not fulfilling his explicit duty. The entry does not identify the acting *provveditore*, but it may be reasonable to assume that if the same *operai* were still in office, so too was the same *provveditore* - Bernardo di Bartolomeo del Benino. Was it Del Benino's inefficiency as a *provveditore*, or simply the *Opera's* desperation that motivated this ultimatum? The next entry in the *Libretto* sheds significant light on the situation. On May 11, 1452 (five years after previous entry), the *Opera* elected a new *provveditore* - Guido di Pietro de' Velluti. This could have simply been the result of Del Benino's term having expired, although no term limit was indicated at his election seven years earlier. The explicit terms and conditions imposed upon the new *provveditore* suggest that the *Opera* wanted to be very clear as to his responsibilities - almost as if those responsibilities had not been clear or fulfilled in the past.

The entry records,

The above mentioned *operai* meeting together etc., Bernardo of Signor Lorenzo being absent, elect as *provveditore* of the said *Opera* Guido di Piero de' Velluti, Florentine citizen, for one year beginning today, with a salary of two florins per month, on the condition that for the entire present month he must give a

³⁴ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 11v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

³⁵ For the institution of *lo specchio*, see G. Rezasco, *Dizionario del Linguaggio Italiano Storico ed Amministrativo*, Florence, 1881, 1106.

guarantee of 500 florins through the mediation of a guarantor who must be approved by the *operai*.

The same Guido, presenting himself to me, the notary indicated below, accepted the said position and promised to perform it well and correctly, to preserve and protect the possessions, things, and rights of the said *Opera* and to render a clear account with a complete restitution of monetary residuals.³⁶

Velluti himself did not underwrite the guarantee of 500 florins. Stoldo Frescobaldi and Sandro di Donato Velluti each provided 200 florins, and Andrea di Michele Velluti provided the remaining 100 florins.

The responsibilities of the *provveditore* were now written in stone - “to preserve and protect” the *Opera*’s patrimony, and then to be held accountable for and return the *Opera*’s money. Why had none of this been stated at Del Benino’s earlier election? Perhaps, because these responsibilities were implicit in the role of the *provveditore*, but on account of the fact that they had not been clearly performed by Del Benino, at this next election, the *Opera* clearly indicated the duration of the term, salary, duties, and demanded a “safety deposit” of 500 florins. At the end of his term, should his numbers not add up correctly, the *Opera* now had a means to recover at least some of its losses. That sixty percent of the security deposit was made by Velluti’s relatives would impose an even greater sense of familial, rather than personal, responsibility upon him.

Ten months later, on March 13, 1452[1453], the *Opera* met again. Their order of business was the reelection of Guido Velluti as *provveditore* “for the same term as the *operai*.”³⁷ This would suggest that Velluti was performing his duties in a satisfactory manner. Two days later on March 15, the *Opera* would meet to ratify the contract to concede a house to Neri di Gino Capponi, a former *operaio*. It is worth noting that one of the members of the *Opera* had finally changed. Lorenzo di Parigi Corbinelli replaced his family member, Tommaso di Bartolomeo Corbinelli.

The noble men... along with Lorenzo di Parigi Corbinelli, their absent companion, *operai* of the *Opera* of Santo Spirito promise to ratify the present contract and given that, first and foremost, [they] do not intend to obligate themselves or their heirs but only the *Opera* and its possessions... concede to the nobleman Neri di

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 12r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

Gino Capponi a house that once belonged to Giorgio di Andrea di Nello...³⁸

The wording of the entry explicitly states that the present contract in no way placed the *operai* or their heirs under any personal obligations, but, instead, that legal and financial obligations would be placed exclusively on the institution of the *Opera* and its possessions. The contractual language makes it clear that the *operai* were operating financially on behalf of the *Opera*, but that their own personal wealth and estates were exempt from any obligation. The members of the *Opera* were, in essence, declaring themselves trustees of the *Opera's* patrimony.³⁹

On April 18, 1453, the *Libretto* records the arbitration [*lodo*] made by Neri di Gino Capponi, who was selected by his peers as arbitrator - "in the same manner they establish that all the *camerlenghi* who have missed or who are missing payments owed to them can be put in debtors' prison, and must be absolved as regards the said *Opera* as declared by Guido [Vellutti]."⁴⁰ Not only were debtors legally accountable, but now the *camerlenghi* were as well. If they should fail in their task to recover outstanding debts, or to send the owners of those debts to prison, then they, the *camerlenghi* themselves, would be held accountable and subject to imprisonment. Now, the entire bureaucratic hierarchy was liable should anyone fail in their financial or administrative obligations - the debtor and *camerlengo* threatened with imprisonment, the *provveditore* with dismissal. The *Opera* clearly meant business.

The next entry is dated May 6, 1457 and records some major changes regarding the *Opera* - namely, its members:

The friars and the chapter and the convent of Santo Spirito, meeting together in sufficient number, elect as *operai* of the *Opera* of the new building of Santo Spirito, for three years to come, the noble men:

Luca di Bonaccorso Pitti
Giovanni di Stefano Corsini

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Haines (1996, Introduction, XI) supports such a description of the *Opera* in regards to its juridical relationship to the patrimony of the building project. Goldthwaite actually refers to the *operai* at the Hospital of San Paolo as "trustees" (Goldthwaite, 1977, 230).

⁴⁰ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II 93, 12v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

Bernardo di Tommaso Antinori
Giannozzo di Betto Biliotti
Giovanni di Luca di Gregorio Felti Ubertini⁴¹

For the first time in twelve years, we have an entirely new *Opera*. What is most extraordinary about this new *Opera* is not only that all five of the *operai* are new, but that so too are the family names. Not a single direct family member of the previous *operai* appears. This familial upheaval could of course simply have been the result of the earlier *Opera* having performed its duty in consolidating the financial status of their project. Once the financial emergency was over, the five earlier *operai* relinquished their posts so that other high-ranking community members could also participate in the administration of their church. The next meeting of the *Opera*, twenty-two days later, confirms this theory. On May 28, 1457, the new *Opera* met to confirm the appointment of Giovanni Rucellai as *camerlengo*, Guido Velluti as *provveditore*, and they even reconfirmed the same notary - Gualtiero di Ser Lorenzo da Ghiacceto.⁴² So although the *operai* were new, the main financial and legal characters remained the same. This would guarantee a certain administrative continuity between the two *Opere*.

The entry of May 6 also makes it clear just who was actually electing the *operai*. It was the “friars, chapter and convent” of Santo Spirito. From the beginnings of the building project, the role of the convent had seemed somewhat obscure. Extant documentation has presented a bureaucratic reality at Santo Spirito that involved mainly high ranking and wealthy citizens, bankers, lawyers and notaries whose almost obsessive responsibility was to collect funding for the project as it became due. But let us not forget that they were building a church. Although the fact that the convent of Santo Spirito was involved in the election of *operai* is an important piece of the communal church building puzzle, it may appear that the importance of the realization of the church was more socially than religiously motivated and controlled.⁴³

In a different, and previously unpublished, contemporary document from the records written by the friars of the convent itself, dated May 11, 1457, that

⁴¹ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II 93, 13r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ For further discussion of social motivation behind church construction, see Trachtenberg, 2015, 144.

reconfirms the election of the above-mentioned *operai*, the role of the Augustinian chapter is given greater emphasis:

I remember how on this day, May 11, 1457, at the ringing of the bell, all the brothers of the chapter having met together, by command of the reverend master prior Santi di Macerata, the election of the *operai* of our church of Santo Spirito was proposed and of all those present at the said election, prudent and venerable men were elected for 3 years... with that authority and power usually given to such *operai*⁴⁴

It is worth noting that while the *Libretto* does mention the friars and convent as being involved in the election process, the above-mentioned convent record provides an almost ceremonial description of the event. It was the ringing of the bell that brought all of the friars together.⁴⁵ Specific naming of the prior of the convent, Santi di Macerata, is made. It was under his direct order that the election was held. The tone of the convent record suggests that the *Opera* was exercising the will of the convent. The tone of the *Libretto* instead suggests that the presence of the friars at *Opera* meetings may have been a simple formality. The only other document in all of the extant archival material regarding the early building history of the church to describe a similar role for the convent is the January 19, 1434, appointment of Frescobaldi and Del Benino as the first two *operai* discussed in Chapter I. In fact, the wording is almost identical to the convent document of twenty-three years later. It was the ringing of the bells that brought all of the friars together. It was the command of the then prior, Antonio da Pisa, that brought about the “nomination and election” of two *operai*, bestowing on them “fullest power and authority.”⁴⁶ It is clear that, in the eyes of the convent, the *Opera* was seen to be a secular instrument in the service of the religious chapter for the realization of the church - a church that was first and foremost Augustinian and only then respectively neighborhood and communal.

Yet, the archival evidence recorded in the *Libretto* demonstrates that as the construction of the church proceeded, the role and presence of the

⁴⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 67, 83r. The list of *operai* in this document is identical to the list in the *Libretto*. For document, see Appendix A, Doc. 7.

⁴⁵ For a study of the acoustics of Florentine urbanism, see N. Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance*, University Park, 2016.

⁴⁶ For the appointment of the first two *operai*, see Chapter I, 2.

Augustinians tapered off. Fewer and only fleeting references to the religious chapter and convent are made in most of the entries. Given that the *operai* were mainly merchant-bankers accustomed to the no-nonsense world of finance and business, it is comprehensible that they may have inadvertently (or not) marginalized the convent. Although the *operai* served on a volunteer basis and gained no financial benefit from the realization of Santo Spirito, the bureaucratic and administrative services they provided for the church were similar to those they employed in their own personal commercial affairs. As the *Opera* became more entrenched in the complex machinations of communal construction, a logical consequence may have been the gradual overshadowing of the role of the convent, and a situation in which communal traditions superseded the ecclesiastical.⁴⁷

Ultimately, it was most probably the will of the Augustinians themselves that kept their involvement in construction marginal. As discussed in the previous chapter, in the 1420s, Fra Agostino da Roma, the prior general of the order, had introduced lay *operai* into Augustinian convents in order to deal with the financial matters of the convent "...in the interests of keeping his friars as free as possible from worldly affairs."⁴⁸ In fact, the very first lay *Opera* at Santo Spirito was elected in 1425, long before construction on the church began.⁴⁹ If simple day-to-day book keeping was considered a distraction from spiritual responsibilities, clearly, the bureaucratic and financial demands of church construction would have been better left to qualified lay men. Based on the frenetic activity on the part of the *Opera* in petitioning for public funds and recovering private debts as described in the archival documentation, the institution of the *Opera* must have been a welcomed relief to the religious convent from tedious mundane affairs.

⁴⁷ For discussion of ecclesiastical versus lay *Opere* and the gradual laicization of late medieval and early Renaissance Florentine *Opere*, see Ottokar, 1948, 163-177. Ottokar's essay is the seminal study of Florentine *Opere*. Burke (2004, 69-70) instead argues that the Augustinians exercised considerable authority over the *Opera* at Santo Spirito, particularly in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, by which time the church was already completed. This may have been a reactionary consequence of the excessive autonomy enjoyed by the *Opera* for the four decades of the fifteenth century while the church was actually under construction.

⁴⁸ Walsh, 1972, 133.

⁴⁹ For the first *Opera* at Santo Spirito, see Chap. I, 2.

Several years would pass before the *Opera* would again convene. At a meeting on March 3, 1460 [1461]:

The above-mentioned *operai* decide that it is necessary that a law (*provvisione*) be made by the councils such that for the period of five years, those who are registered property holders in [the] Santo Spirito [quarter] pay each year a fifth part of a single *catasto* and that the acquired sums be paid to the *camerlengo* of the said *opera*.⁵⁰

The *Opera* was not only hoping to find additional means of funding directly from within the Santo Spirito quarter, but also to manage that funding directly. Thus far, communal funding had come exclusively from indirect taxation (*gabelle*) on the entire Florentine population. Now instead, with the backing of communal legislation, the *Opera* was hoping to turn directly to the residents of its own quarter for funding through the appropriation of a portion of the direct taxation of wealth (*catasto*).⁵¹ It was, after all, their quarter church. That the *Opera* would even suggest being able to direct communal legislation and deprive the commune of twenty percent of its revenue from the Santo Spirito quarter reveals a rather privileged attitude on their part. Whereas the institution of the *Opera* has traditionally been seen as an intermediating entity between the commune and the neighborhood, at Santo Spirito, the *Opera* was now beginning to take direct powers to raise funds within its own area.

At the same meeting, the *Opera* also decided to elect a second *provveditore* in the person of Luigi Biliotti. Guido Velluti, then the serving *provveditore*, would continue to serve in his conventional role, while Luigi Biliotti would concern himself specifically with the taxation of shops, in accordance with the reforms made in the previous month of February. Curiously, Biliotti would receive a salary of 3 florins per month, or an annual income of 36 florins versus the standard annual salary of 24/25 florins received by previous *provveditori*. Perhaps this higher salary reflected the greater importance of his work. The tone of the document suggests that Biliotti had received an extraordinary appointment in order to immediately and effectively resolve the question of commercial taxation.

⁵⁰ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II 93, 15r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

⁵¹ For a discussion of the *catasto*, see R. Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore, 2009, 504-505.

The next entry, dated October 18, 1461 records a familial exchange of *operai*

Buonaccorso di Luca Pitti, one of the *operai* of the said *Opera*, at the moment near his departure as ambassador to the King of France, puts in his place, for the time of his mandate and until he returns, the respectable above-mentioned man Luca [Pitti].⁵²

Buonaccorso di Luca Pitti, born in 1419, did in fact serve in the role of Florentine ambassador to France in 1461.⁵³ He would deliver the good wishes of his home city to the newly crowned King Louis XI, who had replaced the recently deceased Charles VII. Obviously, Buonaccorso's diplomatic obligations and physical absence would not have allowed him to fulfill his duties as *operaio* at Santo Spirito. His father, Luca Pitti, who was identified as one of the *operai* elected to a three-year term three years earlier on May 6, 1457, therefore replaced him. Obviously, if he was replacing his son Buonaccorso, in 1461, Luca was not a member of the 1460 *Opera*, for which no record exists. So even if the earlier trend of prolonged *Opera* membership no longer held true, that of familial exchange amongst *operai* still did.

In the same entry, the *Opera* also reasserted its exclusive right in dealing with the finances, patrimony and materials of the building project

In the same manner [they declare] that the *provveditore* or other nuncio or master mason or anyone else can estimate costs or sell something or any possession of the said *Opera* if it has not been first decided by the said *operai* or by two of the same... nor mortar or anything else if not paid for previously.⁵⁴

Reading between the lines of this entry, it seems clear that unauthorized dealings involving everyone from the simple mason up to the *provveditore* himself may have become all too frequent at the *cantiere*. That the document should specify both titles and materials may rather explicitly imply just who and what was going on. Were the high-ranking members of the *Opera* and convent not being honest in their financial dealings? Were building materials being

⁵² ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II 93, 15r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

⁵³ ASF, Ceramelli Papiani, 3803, *carte sciolte*. For diplomacy in Republican Florence, see D. Frigo, *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy*, Cambridge, 2000.

⁵⁴ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II 93, 15r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

“borrowed” from the worksite? If so, it seems the *operai* were determined to put a stop to it.

It is also worth noting that the decision-making power of the *Opera* could now be expressed by only two of the five *operai*. Such a concentration of power would expedite the financial dealings of the *Opera* and reduce the logistical bureaucracy involved in unanimous decisions. In her essay “Oligarchy and Opera”, Haines discusses a similar tradition of conferring the full power of the office into one or more individuals at the *Opera* of Florence cathedral

This form of delegation was most common in the sealing of pacts with contractors: it would have been unwieldy and inefficient to involve all the wardens in detailing the terms and undersigning a document, when one of them could be instructed on the guidelines and authorized to validate the agreement reached on behalf of the *Opera*.⁵⁵

But there was one task for which the *Opera* at Santo Spirito required a unanimous five-man vote, and that was the sale of private family chapels.

At a meeting of April 3, 1459, when Giovanni Ubertini, Bernardo and Antonio Antinori, Lorenzo di Larione dei Bardi, and Mariotto di Marco della Palla were all assigned chapels, the *Opera* explicitly records, “In like manner that a chapel not be conceded to anyone except for [a vote of] five black beans”, and that “the coat of arms of no one can be placed in any chapels if not for [a vote of] five black beans.”⁵⁶ The black beans of course represent the means by which each *operaio* expressed his positive vote. The *Opera* was explicitly indicating that the exclusive right to assign chapels could only be expressed by the unanimous will of the *Opera*. The very nature of this decision reveals the paramount importance of the task at hand. Family chapels were the ultimate prizes for patrons, and the order in which they were sold determined their location and, in turn, visible social hierarchy and prestige within the *quartiere*.

2.) Chapels

At a meeting held on August 10, 1455, the *Libretto* records a milestone event in the construction of any church - the concession of the first private

⁵⁵ Haines, 2008, 155.

⁵⁶ ASF, *Carte Stroziane* II, 93, 14v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

family chapels. In a majority of the extant literature concerning the construction history of Santo Spirito, the sale of the first chapels is normally dated to the 1480s.⁵⁷ This is because the known archival information concerning the sales of chapels has been limited to the information recorded in the later *Libro dei debitori e creditori dal 1477 al 1496*.⁵⁸ Having overlooked the crucial information contained within the earlier *Libretto* discussed in this chapter, scholars have logically concluded that since the first chapels were only being sold thirty years after the beginnings of the building project, construction must have progressed slowly during the preceding, interim period [1446-1471].

In her book *Changing Patrons*, Burke was the first scholar to note that chapels were actually being conceded as early as 1455, or twenty-seven years earlier than has been commonly believed.⁵⁹ Yet, the importance of this fact was somewhat overlooked as Burke understandably presumed that the chapels were being sold "...in the yet unbuilt church."⁶⁰ Although the *Opera* technically could have been selling chapels "on paper" - that is, prior to their construction and based solely from a building model or plan - the lack of physical standing architecture may have created concern or reservations on the part of the chapel patron. The private chapels in Santo Spirito were not cheap, and to invest significant amounts of money in unrealized architecture was of course an enormous risk. Considering all the earlier delays and difficulties encountered by the *operai* (nearly all of whom would eventually invest in chapels) in acquiring public funding for their church, the investment risk was even greater. It was most probably the fact that construction was progressing in a significant manner that motivated the sale of private chapels.

⁵⁷ Quinterio, 1992, 308: "Proof of the successive demolition [of the old church] is the fact that, beginning in 1482, the concession of chapels in the completed crossing begins to families that already owned them in the [old] church. It begins with Giovanni Lanfredini (1482) and continues with two for the Frescobaldi (1482/83)..." Oddly, Quinterio does not question why the first chapel would be conceded to the Lanfredini family, a family which had no significant role in the construction history of the church. Botto limits his discussion of chapel concessions to the selection in 1485 of the Corbinelli family as patrons of the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament (see Botto, 1931, 485).

⁵⁸ Quinterio, Botto and Burke are the only other scholars to address the issue of chapel patronage as regards the construction history of the church.

⁵⁹ Burke, 2004, 73-76.

⁶⁰ Burke, 2004, 73.

As Jonathan Nelson points out, a “chapel” could mean anything from an altar table simply attached to wall or column, to the more prestigious “one-bay spatial box that lined transepts and nave walls.”⁶¹ In Brunelleschi’s Santo Spirito, there would be no distinction. All forty chapels would be uniform in size and shape. So presumably, the only means to express social hierarchy would be through the location of a family chapel. As Burke succinctly describes it “the most sought after chapels were those nearest the high altar.”⁶² Yet, in Santo Spirito nearly all of the crossing chapels are equidistant from the high altar! Therefore, patrons would need to find a new means of expressing social status. The ownership of multiple and contiguous chapels would become one prominent means for the families of Santo Spirito to express prestige within the new church, whose centralized altar annulled the traditional chapel hierarchy based on high altar proximity.⁶³

Surprisingly though, scholars have overlooked perhaps the most important, yet simple, means of determining the socio-political rank of the patrons at Santo Spirito, that is, what I will describe as “patron primacy.” In other words, those patrons who were given the earliest opportunity to purchase a chapel concession would enjoy primacy in regards to location and availability. Chapel order would of course supersede both location and quantity, as it would fundamentally determine both. The sooner a patron could choose his chapel, the greater the opportunity for acquiring a desired location and a subsequent, if not immediate, right to purchase additional chapels.

The first patron to purchase a chapel concession at Santo Spirito was Stoldo Frescobaldi, and he would take advantage of this privilege by purchasing two contiguous chapels in the main northern arm of the church adjacent to his own private property. At the previously discussed meeting of August 10, 1455, after choosing a new *camerlengo* in the person of Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai and associates, the *Opera* decided to

⁶¹ J. Nelson, “Memorial Chapels in Churches: The Privatization and Transformation of Sacred Spaces”, *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, New York, 2006, 354.

⁶² Burke, 2004, 74.

⁶³ Quinterio (1992, 308) describes single-family dominance over an area of the church through patronage of multiple chapels as *potentati*. I prefer to call them chapel *consortia*.

... concede to Stoldo di Leonardo Frescobaldi... in two places, new chapels which are being made in the said building, in the manner that the said Stoldo indicates. And for each [chapel] he must pay 500 florins; and as regarding this money he pays and has to pay, immediately 100 for each [chapel] to compensate in the said payment the amount of money that the said Stoldo is owed and to receive from the said *opera* and to which he is a creditor.

And even afterwards, for each year until the full payment, he is obligated to pay for each [chapel] 50 gold florins beginning in the first year.⁶⁴

The entry clearly indicates that the chapels were “being made” (*faciendis*), which supports the idea that standing architecture was the impetus to begin chapel sales. Although the *Libretto* entry does not indicate the exact location of the chapels, it is safe to presume that the chapels described in the entry are the two principal and contiguous Frescobaldi chapels on the western side of the northern transept arm of the church, adjacent to properties still owned today by the Frescobaldi family.⁶⁵ (**Fig. 33, Chapels 17 & 18**)

The record also clearly indicates that the *Opera* was indebted to Stoldo Frescobaldi. Stoldo would presumably be compensated with a reduction in the cost of his chapels - “to compensate...the amount of money that... Stoldo is owed.” This scenario of course supports Manetti’s claim that Stoldo Frescobaldi anticipated funds to get the whole construction project under way and “was hoping to recover his outlay when the money was provided.”⁶⁶ What is not clear is exactly how much of a reduction was to be received and, therefore, how much money Stoldo had previously advanced. The complicated wording of the text may suggest that the *Opera* was waiving the down payment of 200 florins, although it does clearly indicate the cost of each chapel was 500 florins. A down payment of 100 florins per each chapel was required, and then a payment plan of 50 florins per year per chapel was arranged until both chapels were paid

⁶⁴ ASF, *Carte Strozzi*, II 93, 12v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

⁶⁵ See Quinterio, 1996, 38, for the layout of the private property adjoining the new church. As for the location of these first two chapels, we can safely presume that they are the two contiguous Frescobaldi chapels on the western side of the northern arm (*testata*) because, by the early sixteenth century, the Frescobaldi owned a total of four family chapels within Santo Spirito and the precise locations of two of the four chapels (which were sold in 1485 and 1505 respectively) is documented and do not correspond with the contiguous chapels indicated above.

⁶⁶ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 122.

in full. If the annual installment for the payment for both chapels (comprehensive cost of 1000 florins) was 100 florins, then, after a deposit of 200 florins, Stoldo (who was fifty-two years old at the time) would pay off the remainder in a maximum of eight years.

On April 3, 1459, nearly four years later, the *Opera* would agree to concede a total of seven more chapels. Although, the first chapel mentioned was not actually conceded to an individual, but instead selected as the chapel in which to place the arms of the commune:

The above written *operai* decide unanimously that in the principal chapel of the building, on the right side, should be placed the arms of the commune, like the ones the *operai* of Santa Reparata [Santa Maria del Fiore] are obliged to place, to complete the painting and other things.⁶⁷

It appears that the *Opera* was taking collective ownership over one chapel, inside of which the symbol of the commune of Florence would be displayed. In doing so, the *Opera* would be demonstrating its role as *liaison* between the commune and the neighborhood. By choosing the “principal chapel” for its patronage, it would also demonstrate the hierarchy of commune over family or individual. The inspiration for assuming the rights over a chapel in the name of the commune was, as the entry indicates, the city’s most prestigious *Opera* - that of Santa Maria del Fiore. Like the *Opera* of the Duomo, the *Opera* of Santo Spirito would take up the decoration of a chapel as well. The chapel that would represent the commune is the second chapel from the left on the northern side of the northern arm of the church. **(Fig. 33, Chapel 20)** The entry also reveals that the *Opera* was clearly under the impression that this chapel was the “principal chapel of the building.” Considering the unique “centralized” design at Santo Spirito, and nearly equidistant position of all the crossing chapels from the high altar, how did the *Opera* arrive at designating this particular chapel as the “principal” one? Evidently, the *Opera* was clinging to a traditional chapel hierarchy in which the principal chapel (*cappella maggiore*) was located in the *testata* or “head” of the church, which in most churches (but not in the new church of Santo Spirito) would coincide with the apse.

⁶⁷ ASF, CRS, *Carte Strozzi*, II, 93,13r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

This noble and patriotic gesture was clearly intended to convey the role of the *Opera* as intermediary between the neighborhood and communal institutions. The *Opera* was the representative administrative body of the entire demographic quarter of the *Oltrarno*. Collective patronage on the part of the *Opera* would signify the collective patronage of the *quartiere*, both rich and poor, over the “principal chapel” of its principal church. That this neighborhood chapel would display the arms of the commune was an unambiguous signal of a communal identity for the church as well. Santo Spirito was not only the religious and social center within the *quartiere*, but also the symbol of the *quartiere* within the larger Florentine republic.

This chapel became an architectural nexus at various levels. It was first and foremost the manifestation of a communal presence in the quarter; but it was also a means for the leading citizens of the quarter to visually express their loyalty to the republic. The communal chapel was literally embraced by those surrounding chapels owned by the Pitti, Bardi, Frescobaldi, Capponi and other families whose names hold primary importance both in the neighborhood and in the history of the city. Yet, as it was described as the “principal” chapel of the church, it would seem that civic obligations clearly held priority over individual and/or familial obligations. This message could not have been lost on those members of the quarter of lesser social and economic standing, but by no means lesser citizens of the republic, who now clearly had a physical and visual expression of their indirect patronage within the church.

As noble a gesture as assigning the principal chapel to the commune was, ultimately the intentions of the *Opera* were for naught. Twenty-six years later, on November 18, 1485, this same chapel whose multilevel role so succinctly connected private citizen to communal institutions, was sold to a private patron.

And said by their decision [to] concede to the heir of Giovanni di [...] Frescobaldi a chapel located in the head of the church next to the chapel of Messer Luca Pitti and that of Giovanni de' Bardi in the middle of these two chapels for the price of 500 florins...⁶⁸

⁶⁸ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 223v. : “E detto di loro partito concedettono al erede di Giovanni di [...] Frescobaldi una chapella posta nela testa della croce a lato a la chapella di Messer Lucha Pitii e quello di Giovanni de'Bardi nel mezzo di queste due chapelle per prezzo di fiorni 500 di sugello pagando al presente f. 50 di sugello e resto ogni anno di [...] in sino alla soma di f. 500...”

The precise description of the location of the chapel makes its identity incontrovertible. Without so much as a word describing its formerly assigned role, the chapel between the Pitti and the Bardi chapels was sold to Giovanni Frescobaldi. It appears that, ultimately, family patronage would supersede communal patronage at Santo Spirito. This may have been the simple result of the pressing need for financial resources at the building site, or a reflection of the greater socio-political reality in late fifteenth-century Florence.

The next chapel that was conceded in April 1459, went to Luca di Bonaccorso Pitti [1395-1472] (who was not present at the meeting) "...next to the above written chapel of the Commune on the left side and there may Luca's coat of arms be placed."⁶⁹ Therefore after Stoldo Frescobaldi and the Commune, Luca Pitti, who had not sat on any other previous *Opera* before his election in May 1457, was the second individual patron to receive a chapel. This is surprising in that Pitti jumped ahead of all the previous *operai* who had served in that role for twelve years in purchasing a chapel, thus giving him precedence over these others concerning the location of his chapel. Even more surprising is the location of Pitti's chapel next to that of the commune. If the communal chapel was considered by the *Opera* to be the principal chapel of the church, then Pitti was assigned the only chapel that could rival it in terms of location. It is the same single Pitti family chapel that still stands inside the church today, which is the second chapel from the right in the northern end of the northern arm. **(Fig. 33, Chapel 21)**

But the ultimate surprise is that Pitti's chapel was given to him for free! An entry from the convent records of Santo Spirito records,

All the fathers and brothers of the convent of Santo Spirito meeting together on this day, October 6 [1458], it was proposed by the Reverend father that it be made that the respectable and honorable citizen Luca di Bonaccorso Pitti, *operaio* of the new church of Santo Spirito, was very active in ensuring that the [construction of] the said church went ahead; and up to now with his wisdom increased the income of the said *Opera*; and the said fathers and brothers of the convent wishing to be grateful and to acknowledge all that he has done...freely donate to the said Luca... a chapel in the crossing of the church of his choosing and preference, but not compromising those [chapels] that already are

⁶⁹ ASF, CRS, *Carte Strozziene*, II, 93,13r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

under jurisdiction. And Sir Gualterio, the notary of the said *Opera*, recorded the said donation.⁷⁰

So although Stoldo Frescobaldi may have been given precedence in terms of choice, and privilege in being conceded two chapels, he would have to actually pay for his chapels. Luca Pitti instead was awarded a chapel free of charge. This would suggest that Pitti played, as the document suggests, some extraordinary role in the financial dealings of the church. Luca Pitti had served as *gonfaloniere della giustizia*, the highest communal office of the republic, in 1458, one year before the chapel was awarded to him.⁷¹ Perhaps Luca had used, or may have used, his office to expedite the collection of outstanding debts in the Santo Spirito quarter.

Oddly, the extant documentary evidence concerning the church does not support such a scenario. At the time that the chapel was awarded to him, Pitti had served as an *operaio* for only one and half years. Could he possibly have acquired or provided some sort of extraordinary funding for the church? Aside from the revenue from the salt tax, the only other documented source of income for Santo Spirito was the sale of family chapels. Perhaps Luca Pitti had proposed the aforementioned idea that citizens of the Santo Spirito quarter should pay one fifth of their *catasto* directly to the *Opera*. Although it is not known whether that *provvisione* ever went into effect, Pitti's affiliation with Cosimo "the Elder" de'Medici may have made it promising enough to merit the chapel. Since Luca Pitti's role in the *Balia* that recalled Cosimo de'Medici from exile in 1434, he became a man with significant political influence in Florence.⁷² In other words, perhaps the chapel awarded to one of Cosimo's closest political allies, Luca Pitti, was actually an indirect way of honoring Cosimo de'Medici

⁷⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 67, 86r. (First cited and partially transcribed by J. Burke, 2004, 73, n. 57): "Ragunati el padri e frati del convento di Santo Spirito adì 6 d'ottobre fu proposto per lo Reverendo priore che concio sia cosa chello spetabile e honorevole cittadino Lucha di Bonachorso Pitti operaio della chiesa nuova di Santo Spirito si sia molto adoperato che la detta chiesa vada inanzi e persino a qui abbi colla sua prudentia accresciuta l'entrata di detta opera e padri e frati del convento volendo essere grati et riconoscere tanto beneficio quanto per lui se fatto et facessi per la avenire liberamente tutti nemine discrepanti concorso alargire al sopradetto Lucha di Bonachorso Pitti una chapella nella croce di detta nuova chiesa a suo arbitrio e volontà non pregiudicando a chi in alchuna di quelle avesse giuriditione et di tal donagione ne fu logato Ser Gualiferiz notaio di detta opera."

⁷¹ ASF, Ceramelli Papiani, 3803, *carte sciolte*

⁷² *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Torino, 2015, 309.

himself.⁷³ Years earlier at San Lorenzo, parishioners reluctantly took up sponsorship of some chapels within the church, despite particularly hard economic times and the possibility that the Medici would ultimately monopolize the patronage of the transept chapels, simply to demonstrate their loyalty to Cosimo's father, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici.⁷⁴

Giannozzo di Betto Biliotti, also a new *operaio*, would be the next to purchase a chapel. Biliotti's chapel was to be "in place of the chapel which he has in the [old] church of Santo Spirito, that is the 'chapel at the head' near the one conceded to the above written Luca on the left side and there may his coat of arms be placed." The Biliotti chapel is the first chapel on the eastern side of the northern arm of the church. **(Fig. 33, Chapel 24)** The next chapel would be sold to Giovanni di Luca di Gregorio Fetti [Ubertini], again a new *operaio*. His chapel was "to be amongst those [already] conceded for a price to be determined at another meeting and so may his coat of arms be placed."⁷⁵ The Ubertini chapel is the first chapel in the western arm of the church where the western and northern arm meet. **(Fig. 33, Chapel 16)** Curiously, the cost and financing of these two chapels are not discussed in the record.

Now it was the turn of the old *operai* and their family members to purchase chapels. The next chapel was sold to Lutozzo di Jacopo Nasi, brother of one of the first 1436 *operai* - Giovanni di Jacopo di Lutozo Nasi, and his "*nipoti*." The cost of the chapel was 500 florins, although a deposit of only 50 florins was requested, and then annual installments of 50 florins, resulting in a nine-year payment plan. The Nasi chapel is the fourth chapel from the right on the eastern end of the eastern arm of the church. **(Fig. 33, Chapel 27)** Gino di Neri Capponi, son of one of the original 1436 *operai*, was next in line for chapel concession. The entry reads that Gino could choose "a chapel to his

⁷³ In 1458, Luca Pitti, who was also serving as *gonfaloniere della giustizia*, is credited with uncovering and liquidating a conspiracy against Cosimo de' Medici by ordering the arrest and eventual death of the conspirators. Cosimo would demonstrate his gratitude a few years later by lobbying to obtain the title of "Knight of the People" for Luca Pitti (ASF, Ceramelli Papiani, 3803, *carte sciolte*). This title was physically manifested in the arms of the Pitti family with the addition of a small red cross. For Luca Pitti's privileged relationship with the Medici regime, see D. Kent, *Friendship, Love and Trust in Renaissance Florence*, London, 2009, 207-208.

⁷⁴ For chapel patronage at San Lorenzo, see Saalman, 1993, 144-147.

⁷⁵ ASF, Carte Stroziane, II, 93, 13v. (Appendix A, doc. 6.)

liking, but not amongst those conceded.”⁷⁶ Why would the *Opera* explicitly state that Gino Capponi’s chapel must not be amongst those already sold? It may have been a rather cryptic manner to indicate an approximate location for the Capponi chapel, that is, not “near” or “between” the chapels already sold. It could also suggest that Gino Capponi, or his father before him, already had his sights set on a particular chapel that had previously been sold. The *Opera* may simply have been reiterating that regardless of the family, or its former role and contribution to the construction of the church, it was the actual *Opera* that made the decisions concerning chapel allocations. In either case, the cost of the chapel would remain consistent (500 florins), but Gino Capponi was required to make a deposit of 100 florins and then annual installments of 100 florins as well. The chapel would therefore be paid off in four years. There are presently four Capponi chapels in Santo Spirito.⁷⁷ Since Neri di Gino Capponi is buried in the first chapel on the northern side of the eastern arm of the church, in all likelihood, this was the chapel eventually chosen by his son, Gino di Neri Capponi. **(Fig.’s 32 & 33, Chapel 26)**

The next matter of business in the *Libretto* is not a concession of a chapel, but a record and update of a former concession:

In the same manner concede to Tanai di Francesco Nerli a chapel, which in another meeting was [already] conceded to him... for which, up to now, he has paid 350 florins and by the end of the day on next October 5, he will pay 100 florins and then for just one year, 50 florins ...⁷⁸

Nerli’s chapel had actually been sold to him at an unknown earlier date. It is feasible, deducing from the math, that the chapel was actually conceded in the same year as Stoldo Frescobaldi’s concession in 1455. If Nerli anticipated 150 florins in 1455, and then 50 florins annually until 1459, the remaining balance would equal the 150 florins (350 florins already paid) mentioned in the entry. But why would Tanai Nerli, who was neither a former nor actual member of the *Opera*, enjoy precedence over both? Perhaps there was a bit more to the social hierarchy at Santo Spirito than just membership in the *Opera*. Moreover, it is clear that Stoldo Frescobaldi was probably not the only patron to purchase

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ The history of the other Capponi chapels shall be discussed later in this chapter.

⁷⁸ ASF, *Carte Strozzi*, II, 93, 13v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

chapels as early as 1455. Yet, Stoldo Frescobaldi's "senior status" may have been asserted through his purchase of multiple chapels. The Nerli chapel is the third from the right on the eastern side of the eastern arm of the church. (**Fig. 33, Chapel 28**)

Two days later, on April 5, 1459, the *provveditore*, Guido Velluti, and a notary, Ser Battista di Ser Francesco Guardi of the Silk Guild, would meet again to modify the earlier agreement for a chapel with Lutozzo di Jacopo Nasi.⁷⁹ The *nipoti* mentioned in the earlier arrangement were not Lutozzo's grandsons and granddaughters, but his nieces and nephews. The sons and daughters of the deceased Giovanni di Jacopo di Lutozzo Nasi, former *operaio* of the first *Opera* of 1436, would split the cost of their family chapel with their uncle. Although only three of Giovanni's children are mentioned - Jacopo, Agostino and Battista, they were also representing two other brothers named Bonifiacio and Giuliano. Collectively they promised not only to provide half of the cost of the chapel, but also to maintain the chapel endowment. These details may seem trivial, but demonstrate in this instance how it was effectively the collective family, not individual patronage that mattered with regards to chapel ownership.

Nearly a year and half later, the *Opera* would meet again for the purpose of making further chapel concessions. On August 13, 1460, the first order of business was to discuss the unconcluded finances of the chapels conceded on April 3, 1459.⁸⁰ Of the three chapels conceded that day to Luca Pitti, Gianozzo Biliotti and Giovanni Ubertini, only Ubertini's costs and payment are recorded in this entry. Pitti's chapel was free and perhaps Biliotti had already made arrangements with the *Opera* for payment.⁸¹ The cost of Ubertini's chapel was the standard 500 florins, which was to be paid with a deposit of 50 florins "whenever he wants [to pay] within the next year", and then annual payments of 50 florins until the chapel was paid in full. What is odd is that a year and a half after the concession of the chapel, Ubertini had yet to make a down payment.

Bernardo and Antonio di Tommaso Antinori collectively purchased the rights over the next single chapel at a cost of 500 florins. They were asked for a down payment of 50 florins within the next two months, and then 50 florins annually until the chapel was paid in full. This would result in total payment

⁷⁹ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 14r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

⁸⁰ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 14v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

⁸¹ Although a later document, discussed later in this chapter, would reveal that the price of the Biliotti chapel was the same standard 500 florins.

over a nine-year period. It is worth noting that Bernardo Antinori, along with Giovanni Ubertini, sat on the *Opera* of 1459 that was actually responsible for the concession of the chapels. The Antinori chapel is the corner chapel located where the western transept arm meets the nave. **(Fig. 33, Chapel 9)**

The next concession was actually for a chapel that was already owned, curiously, by a relative:

In the same way, [they] concede to Lorenzo di Larione [de'Bardi] the Bardi chapel for 500 florins and to him [Lorenzo] be transferred the money paid by Jacopo di Bernardo Bardi and that his [Lorenzo's] arms be placed where he likes, but not amongst those already conceded, paying for now 100 florins and successively for each year 100 florins until full payment... and there be his arms placed and be removed those of the Bardi⁸²

Lorenzo di Larione was actually the son of Lippaccio de' Bardi, but on August 23, 1452, before the *Signoria* of Florence, he legally changed his last name to "di Larione" or more correctly "Ilarioni."⁸³ On May 1, 1460, a little over a year after he took over his relative's chapel, Lorenzo was elected to the *Signoria*.⁸⁴

This is the first instance in which a chapel owned by one family member was conceded to another. The only legal explanation for such a breach of contract would be the delinquency of payment for the chapel on the part of the original patron. It seems that the original Bardi patron, Jacopo di Bernardo, had already paid some of the cost of the chapel and that those funds would be "diverted" (*stornati*) or credited to Lorenzo di Larione de'Bardi. A later entry in the *Libretto*, dated October 1, 1460 records that the chapel "next to the one with the arms of the commune" was sold to Lorenzo di Larione for the cost of 350 florins.⁸⁵ This suggests that Jacopo di Bernardo de'Bardi had probably already paid 150 florins that were deducted from the 500 florin total cost of the chapel. It would also suggest that Jacopo di Bernardo first purchased the chapel in 1459, having made a down payment of 100 florins in the same year, and then a single 50 florin annual payment in 1460.

If, in fact, Jacopo di Bernardo de' Bardi's chapel was sold to another family member because of delinquent payment, it marks the beginning of a

⁸² ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 14v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

⁸³ ASF, *Raccolta Sebregondi*, 396/c

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ ASF, *Carte Stroziane II*, 93, 15r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

general trend of payment delinquency on the part of chapel patrons at Santo Spirito. Consequently, the *Opera* would need to revisit its original indulgent policy of long-term payment plans. A much more disciplined fiscal policy was enforced immediately. At the same meeting of August 13, 1460, a chapel was sold to Mariotto di Marco della Palla, with the following terms "...in the case that Mariotto di Marco pays the *camerlengo* 500 florins by the end of next September, it is agreed that a chapel will be conceded to him."⁸⁶ Imposing that Mariotto di Marco pay the entire 500 florin cost of a chapel in a little more than a month (versus the nine years allotted to the Antinori!) is a clear signal that the *Opera* may have discovered that its long-term payment plans were conducive to tardy or non-payment. The *Opera* could resolve this problem with future patrons, as it did with Marco di Mariotto, by demanding full and near immediate payment. But how would it collect the outstanding balances owed by those patrons who had already purchased chapels?

The *Opera* attempted to resolve the issue with the following ultimatum:

...for all the rest of the conceded chapels and for which the time period of payment has expired, we inform that payment must be made within eight days; otherwise, once this time passes, the arms be removed and they [the chapels] can be conceded to other families⁸⁷

Obviously, the patience of the *Opera* had worn thin. Chapel patrons were given eight days to get their payments in order, or their chapel ownership would be revoked and their respective family arms removed from the chapels. This was the ultimate threat that the *Opera* could make, and not the only time it would be used.

⁸⁶ ASF, *Carte Stroziane II*, 93, 14v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

⁸⁷ Ibid. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

Table 6:**Chapels Sold between 1455-1460 (Fig. 33)**

Date	Family	Price	Quantity	Location
August 10, 1455	Frescobaldi	f. 500	2	Northern arm
August 10, 1455(?)	Nerli	f. 500	1	Eastern arm
April 3, 1459	Commune	NA	1	Northern arm
April 3, 1459	Pitti	Not Indicated/Free	1	Northern arm
April 3, 1459	Biliotti	Not Indicated	1	Northern arm
April 3, 1459	Ubertini	f. 500	1	Western arm
April 3, 1459	Nasi	f. 500	1	Eastern arm
April 3, 1459	Capponi	Not Indicated	1	Eastern arm
August 13, 1460	Antinori	f. 500	1	Western arm
August 13, 1460	Bardi	f. 500	1	Northern arm
August 13, 1460	Della Palla	f. 500	1	Eastern nave

The last entry in the *Libretto* is dated November 8, 1461, and records another dramatic ultimatum pronounced by the *Opera*:

The above-mentioned *operai* establish that [if] anyone to whom a chapel in the said building has been consigned should not pay their outstanding balance by the end of December, then their coat of arms will be removed immediately after December. And if in the future, someone should not pay their due on time, that their coat of arms [shall] be removed.⁸⁸

More than six years after the first chapels were sold to the Frescobaldi and the Nerli in 1455, the *Opera* was fraught by the unpaid balances of the chapel patrons. The situation was paradoxical. Construction had finally reached a point where both the *operai* and patron (who were, in many cases, one and the same) had something to gain. The former now had a significant source of additional income for the completion of the church; the latter now had a physical and enduring means to express individual prestige within the *quartiere* itself. Yet, both the *Opera* and chapel patron would remain empty handed if the expected payments were not made. Without the significant income produced by chapel sales, construction would by necessity be hindered, and would therefore result not only in the delay of the consignment of the few uncompleted

⁸⁸ ASF, *Carte Stroziane II*, 93, 15v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

chapels to their respective owners, but also in the overall completion of the new church.

Excluding the chapels respectively designated to bear the arms of the commune and awarded to Luca Pitti, if the standard price of the ten chapels sold between 1455 and 1460 was 500 florins, as was usually the case, the revenue from the sale of these chapels would amount to 5,000 florins. This amount would be collected over a maximum period of nine years, which was the time table designated in the payment plan arranged for the Antinori, Ubertini and the family members of Lutozzo Nasi. The resulting annual income from chapel sales for the *Opera* was approximately 556 florins. Comparatively, the public funding received by the *Opera* from the salt tax revenues during the seven-year period between 1439 and 1446 amounted to 1,563 $\frac{1}{4}$ florins, or an annual income of 223 florins. Clearly, chapel sales would represent the more significant and lucrative means of obtaining funds for the *Opera*. In fact, the down payments on the chapels alone would amount to 350 florins of theoretically immediate liquidity.⁸⁹ With thirteen presumably unsold chapels remaining in the crossing, and sixteen more in the yet unrealized nave of the church, the economic prospects of the *Opera* were promising.

Communal funding may have sufficed to begin the building project, but it was the revenue from private chapel sales that would ultimately see the church through to completion. The struggle between *Opera* and chapel patron during this second phase of the construction history at Santo Spirito supplanted the earlier struggle between *Opera* and commune. Although communal funding was quintessential for getting construction underway, chapel patronage was now the critical financial means by which to continue construction through to completion.

3.) Patterns of Patronage at Santo Spirito

The Quartiere

In 1343, shortly after the completion of the third and final ring of perimeter walls around the city, the government of Florence implemented large-

⁸⁹ This figure was calculated by incorporating only the information from the *Libretto* that makes specific mention and quantification of down payment for the chapels.

scale urban reforms.⁹⁰ The city would no longer be divided into six urban districts (*sestieri*), but instead into quarters (*quartieri*). Additionally, "... the quarters were no longer assigned the names of the urban gates [located therein], as they were in the earlier [urban] division, but instead with the names of the most important convent complexes in their sector."⁹¹ Therefore, the former *Oltrarno sestier* became known as the *Quartiere di Santo Spirito*. The symbol chosen for the standard of the quarter would consist of a white dove with golden rays on a blue field. **(Fig. 34)**

These territorial urban reforms also affected the organization of the smaller wards (*gonfaloni*) within the districts; their number was to be reduced from twenty to sixteen, and equally divided amongst the four quarters.⁹² As Eckstein points out in his *The District of the Green Dragon*:

...Florence's *gonfaloni* had not in the first place been designed primarily as democratic institutions, but as para-military organizations intended to protect the *popolo* from the arbitrariness and violence of factions whose leaders treated their residential neighborhoods almost as private bailiwicks. The *gonfaloni* grew out of the *popolo*'s old neighborhood militias... however... they had in reality been transformed into administrative units by the fifteenth century.⁹³

Eckstein goes on to describe the *gonfalone* as "...more a division of the commune than a purely neighborhood association", whose responsibilities included communal tax collection and the subscription of politically eligible males within the *gonfalone*.⁹⁴

The four *gonfaloni* of the quarter of Santo Spirito were named *Scala* ("Ladder"), *Nicchio* ("Shell"), *Ferza* ("Whip") and *Drago* ("Dragon"). Each

⁹⁰ For the history of the demographic urbanism of Florence, see J. Najemy, "Florentine Politics and Urban Spaces", *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, New York, 2006, 19-54; V. Orgera; G. Balzanetti, L. Artusi and J. Poli, *Firenze: Il Quartiere di Santo Spirito dai Gonfaloni ai Rioni*, Firenze, 2000, 24-27; and Spiller, 1987.

⁹¹ Orgera, 2000, 24: "Ai quartieri furono attribuiti, dalla nuova organizzazione amministrativa entro la cinta, non più, come nella prima divisione, i nomi delle porte urbane, ma i nomi dei complessi conventuali più importanti del loro settore."

⁹² Ibid., 25.

⁹³ N. Eckstein, 1995, 141-142.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 143. For more on the *gonfalone* system in Florence, see D. and F.W. Kent, 1982, 5-31.

gonfalone was assigned a clearly demarcated territory within the city walls of its district, and would, in turn, contain smaller parish churches and their respective congregations.⁹⁵ **(Fig. 35)** The territory of the *gonfalone Scala* essentially extended from the Ponte Vecchio eastward to the Porta San Niccolò, and contained the parishes of San Niccolò, San Giorgio, San Gregorio, Santa Lucia de'Bardi, Santa Maria Soprarno and Santa Felicità.⁹⁶ The *gonfalone Nicchio* instead encompassed the oldest part of the district between the Ponte Vecchio and Ponte Santa Trinita. Not only did it contain half of the parish of Santa Felicità and the parish church of San Jacopo Soprarno, but *Nicchio* also physically encompassed the “head quarter” (*capoquartiere*) church of Santo Spirito itself.⁹⁷ The urban area south of the actual church of Santo Spirito (including the present-day Piazza Spirito) and extending all the way to the Porta Romana belonged to the *gonfalone Ferza*. Within its boundaries were the parish churches of San Felice in Piazza and San Pier Gattolino.⁹⁸ Bordering on the western sides of both *Nicchio* and *Ferza* is the final *gonfalone*, *Drago*, which contains the parishes of San Frediano, Santa Maria in Verzaia and the Carmelite church and convent complex of Santa Maria del Carmine.⁹⁹

The new church and convent of Santo Spirito, which replaced the older thirteenth-century complex, built a century after the Florentine commune implemented the urban reforms, was still meant to bridge the demographic, urban and parochial divisions of the quarter, like the other *capoquartieri* churches of the city. It was the church that both socially and religiously represented all four of the *gonfaloni*. At an administrative and bureaucratic level, the realization of the new *capoquartiere* church should have been the result of a concerted and collective effort on the part of citizens from all four *gonfaloni* embodied and represented in the communal institution of the *Opera*. But even more importantly, in light of the unique architectural reality of the church that offered the extraordinary number of thirty-eight private devotional family chapels, Santo Spirito would become the social nexus of the quarter, as there was more than enough room in the church to accommodate family

⁹⁵ For the boundaries of the *gonfaloni* and their respective parish churches, see Orgera, 2000, 29.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

patronage from all four wards. Yet, both the *Opera* history of the church, and the pattern of family chapel patronage within it, presents a very different reality - a reality in which only three of the four *gonfalon*i of the quarter (*Scala*, *Nicchio* and *Ferza*) essentially monopolized both the offices of the *Opera* and the patronage over chapels within the church to the exclusion of *Drago*.

The present section will examine the role of individual and family patronage at Santo Spirito, and how it developed first through the office of the *Opera*, and consequently through the tradition of chapel patronage within the church. Most of those men who served as *operai*, both championing the cause of public financing for and subsequently administering the construction of their church, were ultimately rewarded with the spiritual and social privilege of chapel patronage. Yet, why was the representation of the *gonfalon*i so lopsided, almost to the point of the total exclusion of men from the *Drago* ward as both *operai* and chapel patrons? The answer, as we shall see, lies in deeply entrenched social and political values not only within the rather unique ward of *Drago*, but also within its entire surrounding *quartiere*.

The pattern of patronage that emerges at Santo Spirito, which serves as a microcosm of Florentine society and its structures, is not only one which misrepresented its *quartiere*, but also one where "...two types of donors had precedence over all others: owners of chapels in the old church and *operai*, who often tended to be the same people."¹⁰⁰ This section will also consider the importance of ancestral church patronage at Santo Spirito, and the continuity of patronage between old and new churches. What is clear is that the institution that guaranteed continuity between old and new patrons was the *Opera*. As it was the responsibility of the *Opera* to assign the family chapels in the new church, serving as an *operaio* for the church was not only an almost certain means to secure a family chapel for oneself, but also a means by which to express influence within the quarter itself by securing chapels for friends, family or allies. Such was the case when Tanai Nerli tried to secure a chapel for an anonymous friend:

...they make it such that the last chapel that is behind the house of Filippo and Carlo Corbinelli, which is the first [chapel], on the right-

¹⁰⁰ Burke, 2004, 73.

hand side when you enter the church, which Tanai asked for a friend of his, which is conceded for 300 florins...¹⁰¹

The *Opera* of Santo Spirito was, as Goldthwaite pointed out, characterized by "...a remarkable continuity of men..."¹⁰² That the same few families almost uninterruptedly provided *operai* over the four decades of the construction of the church is a clear reflection of the importance of these families within the quarter. Burke claims,

Between 1468 and 1483, the same five families... provided the five *operai*, the individual representative of these lineages changing only when the elected member died or was unavailable for another reason. This was a typical transition in a committee where individuals acted as representatives of their lineage. If the elected *operaio* could not attend for some reason, he was always replaced with a stand-in from his own family. If he died, his heir generally took his place.¹⁰³

Such was the case in 1481, when one member of the Corbinelli family replaced another as an *operaio*:

Since the good memory of Bernardo Corbinelli, *operaio* of our church, has passed from this short life...make and elect in place of the deceased Bernardo, the prudent man Ruggieri di Nicholo Corbinegli with that authority...usually given to the others [*operai*].¹⁰⁴

This familial continuity in the *Opera* was also a direct means for these long-term *operai* and their families to maintain control over the social hierarchy within the *quartiere* and the eventual representation of that hierarchy within is most important church by controlling chapel patronage. As Burke puts it,

¹⁰¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 224r. (first cited but not transcribed by Burke, 2004, 73, n. 59): "feciono chella chapella ultima che e dietro alla chasa di Filippo e Charlo corbinelli che la prima al'entrare in chiesa in sulla mano dritta che Tanai chiese per uno amicho suo gli sia conceduta per f. 300..."

¹⁰² Goldthwaite, 1980, 94.

¹⁰³ Burke, 2006, 697.

¹⁰⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 67, 134v. : "...Come essendo passata da questa corta vita la buona memoria di Bernardo Corbinelli operaio nella nostra chiesa...feciono et elesono in luogo de deceso Bernardo el prudente huomo Ruggieri di Nicholo Corbinegli con quella balia...consueta di dare agli altri..."

... the construction and decoration of Santo Spirito form a useful case study to demonstrate the ways that power relationships, at both the local and a communal level, could be manifested, understood, and organized through the structure of church buildings and their ornamentation.¹⁰⁵

Yet, Brunelleschi's unique design for Santo Spirito, with its "centralized basilica" plan, makes determining a traditional social hierarchy amongst the *operai* and the patrons of chapels in the old church quite difficult.¹⁰⁶ As discussed previously in this chapter, since all the chapels in Santo Spirito are of equal dimensions, and nearly all of the crossing chapels are equidistant from the high altar, chapel patrons would need to develop new and alternative means by which to express socio-political and devotional hierarchies within the new church.¹⁰⁷

The almost total absence of family patronage in Santo Spirito by members of the *gonfalone* of *Drago* is not unique to the new church; all of the families that had owned chapels in the old church of Santo Spirito were also exclusively from the *gonfaloni* of *Nicchio*, *Scala* and *Ferza*.¹⁰⁸ Of the thirteen families that owned one or more chapels in the old church, six would also be chapel patrons in the new. Ancestral patronage in the old church also played a significant role in determining the men elected as *operai*. Clearly, Brunelleschi's biographer, Antonio di Tuccio Manetti, thought that ancestral patronage was important when he claimed (albeit mistakenly) that Stoldo di Leonardo Frescobaldi was appointed *provveditore* of the *Opera* of Santo Spirito in the initial period of construction "since the principal chapel of the old church belonged to the Frescobaldi and Stoldo was a capable and valiant man with affection for the church."¹⁰⁹ Manetti overtly implies that patronage over the *cappella maggiore* in the old church was a clear qualification of the "affection" on the part of Stoldo for the "church" of Santo Spirito, regardless of whether it was old or new. This "affection" might simply be explained as a generational continuity of patronage on the part of a family for a particular devotional

¹⁰⁵ Burke, 2004, 64.

¹⁰⁶ Heydenreich (Hyman), 1974, 116. Heydenreich was the first to describe Santo Spirito as a "centralized basilica."

¹⁰⁷ For discussion of the "centralized basilica" plan at Santo Spirito, see the Introduction, 1.

¹⁰⁸ Burke, 2006, 695. For chapel ownership in the old church of Santo Spirito, see Chapter I, 1.

¹⁰⁹ For Manetti's description of Stoldo Frescobaldi, see Chapter I, 2.

structure or object. F.W. Kent has argued that “ancestor reverence was among the most powerful emotions felt by men or women... and it found various expressions - in the use of ancestral names, arms, in commemorative building projects, in loving care for the tombs and chapels in which ancestors lay...”¹¹⁰ At the new church of Santo Spirito, it can clearly be suggested that ancestral patronage was a major factor in determining both *operai* and chapel patrons.

This sense of ancestral obligation and spiritual duty was even felt on the part of the clergy. Concerned about the ancestral rites of patrons of the old church who did not own chapels in the new, an undated entry records:

... note that the [obligated] masses that must be read or sung, but are without a particular altar or place... it is intended to satisfy [the obligations] by celebrating [these masses] at the high altar because since there are still obligations for the chapels in the old church, but if they [chapels] are not found in the new, we fulfill [those obligations] by saying mass at the said high altar [of the new church].¹¹¹

A church clearly belonged to both the living and the dead. Even those who had been buried in the old church, but had no patronal representation in the new, would continue having their spiritual obligations fulfilled, presumably until their obligations expired. Therefore, although the demolition of the old church might signify the termination of family patronage over a physical chapel, it did not signify the termination of the spiritual obligations associated with that chapel or tomb. But if a particular chapel patron in the new church did indeed have ancestors entombed in the old church, it was considered a continued assurance of his dedication and loyalty to the *quartiere* itself. Of the nine men elected and assigned to the first *Opera* of 1436, four were from families (Biliotti, Ridolfi, Capponi, Corsini) with chapels in the old church.¹¹²

Of course the construction of the new church of Santo Spirito, with nearly three times as many family chapels as the old one, presented a literally “once-

¹¹⁰ Kent, 1977, 99.

¹¹¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 37: “Nota che tutti li messi quali si devono leggere o cantare non c’essendo assegnata altare et luogo particolare s’intendo di sotisfare celebrando all’altar grande perchè essendoci posti obblighi di cappelle della chiesa vecchia se quali loro non si trovano nella nuova s’adempiscono celebrando delle messe al detto altare maggiore”

¹¹² For chapel owners in the old church, see Chap. I, 1. For list of *operai* in 1436, see Appendix B, Doc. 1.

in-a-lifetime” opportunity to old and new patrons alike. It had been nearly two centuries since the first church of Santo Spirito had been built, and the socio-economic reality of the quarter had no doubt also changed. Older families would try to reassert their role as the elite patricians of the quarter, while the “new elite” had the opportunity to create their own patronal pedigree in one of the most important churches in the city:

Private chapels were very expensive to build and endow, and those wealthy households who commissioned them always intended them to proclaim their present power and unity and to serve and unite their descendants.¹¹³

The most reliable means to acquire patronage over one of the church’s chapels was to become part of that administrative body that was responsible for allocating them - the *Opera*.¹¹⁴ Although serving on the *Opera* was not a prerequisite for chapel ownership, a survey of the names of the men who appear on the ten known recorded *Opera* lists between 1436 and 1477, (while the church was being built), reveals that the identities of *operai* and chapel patrons were usually one and the same. **(Table 7)** Although not all eventual chapel patrons served as *operai*, by controlling the construction of the church, the *operai* facilitated their own way towards the role of chapel patrons.

¹¹³ Kent, 1977, 100.

¹¹⁴ Burke (2006, 697.) supports the idea that membership in the *Opera* was a means by which to secure chapel patronage: “Clearly there was a sense among the chapter and the *opera* of Santo Spirito that all the elite of the three *gonfalon*i should be consulted about the appearance of the church and who should own chapels in it.”

Table 7:

Family	Terms as <i>operai</i> 1436-1477	Number of Chapels owned in old church	Number of Chapels owned in new church	<i>Gonfalone</i>
Antinori	1	0	2	<i>Drago</i>
Del Benino	6	0	0	<i>Ferza</i>
Biliotti	2	2	1	<i>Nicchio</i>
Capponi	6	1	4	<i>Nicchio</i>
Corbinelli	9	1	4	<i>Nicchio</i>
Corsini	2	1	0	<i>Ferza</i>
Frescobaldi	8	3	3 (originally 4)	<i>Nicchio</i>
Di Giovanni	1	0	0	<i>Nicchio</i>
Guicciardini	3	0	0	<i>Nicchio</i>
Manetti	2	0	0	<i>Drago</i>
Nasi	4	0	1	<i>Scala</i>
Pitti	1	0	1	<i>Ferza</i>
Ridolfi	8	1	1	<i>Scala</i>
Ubertini	1	0	1	<i>Ferza</i>

Clearly, serving on the *Opera* did not guarantee chapel ownership, regardless how long or often one served, as the families of five *operai* did not own chapels within the new church. Members of the Del Benino family sat on six of the ten known *Opere* of the church during its construction, and Pietro del Benino (along with Stoldo Frescobaldi) played a fundamental role in securing the earliest public appropriations for the project in 1434. As discussed earlier, Bernardo di Bartolomeo del Benino had served as *provveditore* for the *Opera* from 1445-1452, yet the family never owned a chapel in the completed church. This could simply have been the result of bad timing. The Del Benino family members served as *operai* and *provveditore* between 1436 and 1452, that is, up until three years before the first chapels of the church were assigned in 1455. Perhaps once the chapels went up for sale, without any direct representation in the *Opera*, and therefore for their lineage, the contributory role of the Del Benino had been superseded.

The other *operai* whose families never owned chapels in the new church of Santo Spirito may have had a greater devotion and loyalty to other churches within their own *gonfalon*i. For instance, the Guicciardini family, which was represented in three different *Opere* between 1468 and 1477, instead owned a

family chapel in the parish church of Santà Felicità, and not in Santo Spirito.¹¹⁵ Although, it does appear that on November 18, 1485, the *Opera* of Santo Spirito did offer the rights over a chapel to the Guicciardini family. On April 25, 1485, the *Opera* voted in favor of conceding a chapel to the then *operaio* Jacopo di Piero Guicciardini “where he thought or wanted it.”¹¹⁶ Yet, seven months later, Guicciardini had not only not yet indicated his desired location for the chapel, but may have been having second thoughts about actually purchasing it. At least, that is how the *Opera* interpreted his procrastination:

In addition, they commission Bernardo Nasi who was with Piero di Francesco Guicciardini to find out from him if he wanted the chapel on the side that was promised to his father (which he wanted), because there is someone [else] interested and be it that he [Piero di Francesco] respond yes or no.¹¹⁷

It was also quite common for a family to have tombs in various churches throughout both the quarter, and sometimes the entire city. In addition to their family chapel in Santo Spirito, members of the Ridolfi family were also entombed in San Pietro Martire, Santa Felicità, and San Jacopo Sopr’Arno; while the Nasi family also had tombs in San Francesco al Monte, and Santa Lucia delle Rovinate (dei Magnoli).¹¹⁸

Thus, while nine families of those *operai* who served as such while the new church of Santo Spirito was under construction account for the ownership of nineteen of the thirty-eight available chapels, half of the church was still up for grabs. Ultimately twenty-seven different families would be represented in the ownership of chapels in Santo Spirito, and they, like the above-mentioned *operai*, nearly all had one thing in common - they were not from the *gonfalone* of *Drago*. The only family to own a chapel and, not coincidentally, provide *operai* for the new church from the ward of *Drago*, was the Antinori family,

¹¹⁵ ASF, *Manoscritti*, 622, 39r.

¹¹⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 76v. (First cited but not transcribed by Burke, 2004, 236, n.43): “E più deliberono detto che e per loro partito vinsono con sei fave nere che Jacopo di Piero Guicciardini chiese dato una chappella dove a lui paressi o volessi e che il prezo fusse nel modo e forma che choncorda gli altri...”

¹¹⁷ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 233v.- “MCCCCLXXXV, In sino 18 di novembre, Et più commisono a Bernardo Nasi che fussi con Piero di Francesco Guicciardini e intendesse dallui se la chapella che s’era promessa a lato suo padre lui la voleva perchè c’era chillo farebbe e che rispondesse del sì o del no.”

¹¹⁸ ASF, *Manoscritti*, 622, 30r., 39r., 59r., 18r., 35r.

which was registered there "...because their first houses were, in fact, in the sphere of the *gonfalone*."¹¹⁹

So why exactly was the *gonfalone Drago* so poorly represented in its quarter church of Santo Spirito? Burke explains the *gonfalone* of *Drago*'s lack of familial patronage in Santo Spirito as more of a self-exclusion on the part of the *gonfalone* itself, than an intended exclusion of *Drago* on the part of the other three wards. Burke writes,

It seems that among the patriciate, at least, *Drago* stuck out as a community defined by *gonfalone* whereas patrician inhabitants in the other three wards considered the quarter as a fitting prism to express their sense of community, self-consciously transcending *gonfalone* and parochial particularism.¹²⁰

In other words, while the *gonfaloni* of *Nicchio*, *Ferza* and *Scala* accepted and exploited the new church of Santo Spirito for its intended role, that is, a church that represented the entire quarter, *Drago*'s intense sense of neighborhood identity had created an estranged relationship between the ward and the church. This estranged relationship, as we shall see, was simply a reflection of the actual socio-economic dynamics within the *quartiere*. In fact, the church of Santo Spirito may even have seemed superfluous to the *gonfalone* of *Drago*, which hosted another monumental mendicant complex in the form of the Carmine. Burke adds, "thus the churches of Santa Maria del Carmine and Santo Spirito, despite their physical proximity, attracted distinct groups of elite patrons, neatly divided along *gonfalone* lines."¹²¹ It would almost seem that the quarter of Santo Spirito implicitly possessed two acting quarter churches - Santo Spirito and Santa Maria del Carmine - and that the identities of their respective patrons was a direct result of a territorial distinction. In fact, some private family chapels in the parochial church of the Carmine cost as much as they did in the quarter church of Santo Spirito.¹²²

Drago's uniqueness and self-conscious isolation amongst the other wards of the Santo Spirito quarter was most probably the result of the area's

¹¹⁹ Orgera, 2000, 30. Burke (2006, 695.) also points out that the Antinori family was the only exceptional family at Santo Spirito from the ward of *Drago*.

¹²⁰ Burke, 2006, 698.

¹²¹ Ibid., 697.

¹²² Eckstein, 2014, 54.

particular socio-economic demographics. In his monograph on the *gonfalone Drago*, Eckstein paints a rather particular social picture of the ward:

While Florence's less affluent inhabitants lived, of course, throughout the entire city, there was a particularly heavy concentration of artisans and workers in the wool industry at the quarter's [Santo Spirito] western end, in the area covered by the *gonfalone* of Drago. In one sense, the district's marginal position and, therefore, its cheap housing... made the district a logical site for a relatively poor community.¹²³

F.W. Kent similarly describes the *gonfalone* of *Drago* as "largely plebeian" and explains the socio-economic status of the ward as the result of "...the poor having been pushed out from the inner city, not least by patrician building programmes, to ghettos on the periphery."¹²⁴ Clearly, *Drago* was a *gonfalone* characterized and socio-economically defined by its lower, working-class population, which, in Florence, was already known as the *popolo minuto*. Although not specifically addressing the issue of *Drago*'s marginal role at Santo Spirito, Samuel Cohn provides an important insight into how the relationship between *Drago* and the rest of the quarter may have evolved in the *Quattrocento*:

The patriciate emerged from the world of neighborhood enclaves and factionalism - breaking down the vestiges of old tower family formations - to create citywide networks and to identify themselves simply as citizens of Florence; while the *popolo minuto* lost their capacity for city-wide organization... They "turned inward" around their parish communities.¹²⁵

Although there were wealthy citizens in *Drago*, its sense of civic identity must have been dictated by its overwhelmingly dominant plebeian population.¹²⁶ And if this collective identity was based mainly upon fealty and dedication to the local parish churches of the *gonfalone*, the wealthier citizens of the ward (with the exception of the Antinori) may have "turned inward" as well.

¹²³ Eckstein, 1995, 8.

¹²⁴ F.W. Kent, "Ties of Neighborhood and Patronage in Quattrocento Florence", *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, Oxford, 1987, 88, 96.

¹²⁵ S. Cohn, *The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence*, New York, 1980, 208.

¹²⁶ For the role of the patrician class in the *gonfalone* of *Drago*, see Burke, 2006, 702-708.

The church of Santo Spirito was clearly a church dominated by the patriciate of three of the four *gonfaloni* of its homonymous quarter and a “showpiece of the new visual culture of the Florentine Renaissance.”¹²⁷ As such, the new church must have offered little in terms of patronal appeal to the inhabitants of *Drago*, whose *gonfalone* may have sufficed as a social sphere within which to express their patronal needs. Residents of *Drago* most likely looked to the Carmine instead as their own architectural manifestation of civic and devotional pride.¹²⁸ Unlike at Santo Spirito, the poor may even have had a role in the decoration of the Carmelite church: “In the Carmine and elsewhere, corporate patronage gave the poorer members of the congregation the opportunity to exert influence over the appearance of their church.”¹²⁹ While at Santo Spirito, “...the poorer inhabitants of the quarter seem effectively to have been given a passive role as the grateful recipients of patronal largesse.”¹³⁰ In fact, as argued previously in this text, the patricians of the quarter were so determined to control nearly all aspects of both construction and patronage at Santo Spirito, that not only were the lower classes of the quarter marginalized, but so too was the Augustinian convent itself. So, instead of a tacit exclusion of *Drago* on the part of the patricians from the other three wards of Santo Spirito, the pattern of patronage at the church was simply a reflection of the socio-economic reality of the entire *quartiere*.

But just how exactly were the eventual chapel patrons from the *gonfaloni* of *Nicchio*, *Ferza*, and *Scala* going to express their own internal social hierarchy inside the church? Perhaps the greatest paradox concerning the new church of Santo Spirito is that although Brunelleschi was commissioned to design a church that could accommodate an elite class of patricians from throughout the quarter, the very disposition of his design would nearly undermine any sense of social hierarchy within the church. Nelson and Zeckhauser claim:

Prominent and beautifully decorated private chapels in major churches provided patrons with an excellent mechanism to signal

¹²⁷ Burke, 2006, 707.

¹²⁸ For a study of family chapel patronage in the Carmine, see Eckstein, 2014, 35-51.

¹²⁹ Burke, 2006, 703.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 707.

both their wealth and their membership in the ruling elite, and to distinguish themselves from their near peers.¹³¹

By simply owning a chapel within a church, a patron was “signaling” his financial ability to do so, as the purchase of the rights over a chapel (*ius patronatus*) was usually an expensive venture.¹³² As discussed earlier in this text, the standard cost of the twenty-four chapels around the high altar of Santo Spirito was 500 florins.¹³³ Such costs “...were painfully high for all but the very wealthy.”¹³⁴ So, there was more than just social prestige at stake when the patrons at Santo Spirito began to consider just which of the chapels to make their own.

Therefore, generally speaking, the more important the church was in which a chapel was located, the greater the prestige of the patron who owned it. But at a more local level, patrons also wanted to distinguish themselves from their “near peers.”¹³⁵ This social and economic distinction amongst chapel owners was very directly expressed in Florentine churches:

...church space was encoded in a system of strict hierarchy...The most prized areas for chapels and tombs were those nearest the high altar. In traditional mendicant churches, the ownership of patronage rights to the *cappella maggiore* was most prestigious, both because of the visual impact of the decoration of this chapel on the appearance of the entire church, and because of the importance of this main chapel for liturgical celebration on major church holidays. After this, the chapels to the liturgical right were more prestigious than those on the left.¹³⁶

Chapel dimensions would also need to be added to this formula for determining chapel hierarchy. So not surprisingly, with the exception of Florence cathedral and the Baptistery (neither of which accommodate private family chapels), nearly every other church in Florence was designed according to these

¹³¹ J. Nelson and R. Zeckhauser, *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art*, New Jersey, 2008, 113.

¹³² For comparative chapel costs see Nelson and Zeckhauser, 2008, 120.

¹³³ Burke, 2006, 700; and Nelson and Zeckhauser (2008, 122.) mistakenly indicate the cost of the crossing chapels in Santo Spirito as 50-100 florins and 300 florins, respectively.

¹³⁴ Nelson and Zeckhauser, 2008, 114.

¹³⁵ Nelson and Zeckhauser, 2008, 113.

¹³⁶ Burke, 2006, 699.

hierarchical parameters.¹³⁷ Trachtenberg describes the competitive urge for important chapels as an “...intrachurch and citywide contest of who had the best-located, most spacious, best appointed family chapel.”¹³⁸

What makes Brunelleschi’s spatial conception of Santo Spirito as radical as it is beautiful is the fact that it does not incorporate a single one of these “encoded” parameters for conventional church spatial hierarchy.¹³⁹ The floor plan of Santo Spirito clearly reveals that nearly all of the twenty-four, equally-dimensioned chapels that delineate the crossing arms of the church appear to be equidistant from the high altar, which sits in the exact center of the crossing space. **(Fig. 8)** In reality, the corner chapels of the crossing do enjoy a slightly greater proximity to the high altar, but imperceptibly so. The only hierarchical certainty in the socio-architectural arrangement of the church is that those twelve chapels beyond the first two chapel bays of the nave are less important than the remaining twenty-six chapels, as they are, in fact, physically further from the high altar. Actually, the number of replicated chapels flanking the nave that could eventually accommodate family patronage should be reduced to ten, as two of the more important nave chapels would eventually need to accommodate doors.¹⁴⁰ **(Fig. 8, Chapels 6 & 35)** Brunelleschi’s “centralized basilica” design for the church was a veritable patron’s conundrum. In fact, an episode cited by Burke of how one of the sons of one of the earliest chapel patrons, Marco di Mariotto della Palla, complained that he was paying too much for his family chapel because it was “outside of the crossing”, clearly indicates that Brunelleschi’s design for the church had patrons confused.¹⁴¹ Evidently, at least one patron of Santo Spirito still interpreted his church as a traditional Latin-cross-plan church, with a clear hierarchical distinction between those

¹³⁷ For the development of chapel types and arrangements in other Florentine churches, see Nelson and Zeckhauser, 2008, 115-116. For design similarities between the plans of Santa Maria del Fiore and Santo Spirito, see Introduction.

¹³⁸ Trachtenberg, 2015, 144.

¹³⁹ For a discussion of the development of the distribution of chapels in Florentine churches, see Trachtenberg, 2015, 144.

¹⁴⁰ The eastern door in Chapel 35 leads out of the church to Borgo Tegolaio, while the western door in Chapel 6 leads into the vestibule adjoining the sacristy.

¹⁴¹ Burke, 2006, 700. The episode is recorded in ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 212v. (first cited but not transcribed by Burke, 2006, 700, n.26): “MCCCCLXXXX, Adì 8 di marzo, Ragunarsi...per cagione che Marco di Mariotto della Palla si doveva chella sua capella che segnatagli per f. 500 era troppo prezzo [es]sendo fuori Della Croce e voleva sistemassi il prezzo...”

chapels in the crossing and those in the nave. In reality, the Della Palla chapel is the first chapel from the crossing on the eastern nave wall, and no further from the high altar than any other of the twenty-four family chapels in the crossing arms of the church. **(Fig. 33, Chapel 33)**

Saalman poetically describes the motivation behind Brunelleschi's vision:

Brunelleschi's design for the new Santo Spirito accorded with Florence's most cherished political myth, namely of a community of equals, in which no family, no individual could claim special power or distinction.¹⁴²

Yet, it appears that the chapel patrons at Santo Spirito had little interest in "democratized" architecture. The desire of the chapel patrons at Santo Spirito to project a social hierarchy through their church both within the quarter, and also throughout the entire city, is clearly manifest in the unique disposition of the coats of arms of the patronal families being displayed both inside and outside of their respective chapels.¹⁴³ **(Fig. 20)** No other church in Florence does so. F.W. Kent claims that,

Arms were just as important a concrete statement of a lineage's identity as its surname. If heraldry sometimes seems to modern observers to be of merely antiquarian interest, it was given urgent and practical attention by many Renaissance Florentines...¹⁴⁴

Kent goes on to cite the fifteenth-century Florentine banker, Francesco Sassetti, who, in 1488, told his sons that ancient arms were a matter of "honor and a sign of our antiquity."¹⁴⁵ Those families using their arms to project themselves and their lineage were of course doing so to both their present and future social peers. According to Nelson and Zeckhauser,

But as these patrons believed in a God who could identify benefactors without any need for the coats of arms and identifying inscriptions that were prominently placed at the entrances and

¹⁴² Saalman, 1993, 340.

¹⁴³ Just when and by whom this decision was made is not known.

¹⁴⁴ Kent, 1977, 256.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 257. Kent goes on to say "...men...put their arms in almost every place imaginable - not only on tombs, chapels, church facades, and other fine buildings, but on farmhouses, church furnishings, and paintings."

interiors of private chapels, such displays of personal and family signs indicate an earthbound audience...¹⁴⁶

The decision to display the coats of arms of the chapel patrons on the exterior of Santo Spirito was undoubtedly an attempt to project family patronage beyond the walls of the church and into the surrounding urban reality. Burke comments, "It would be difficult to have a more convenient or public way of comparing relative family status in the quarter."¹⁴⁷ Through this external display, a patron was now able to not only signal himself and his family amongst the other chapel owners within the church, but also amongst the citizens within his *quartiere*, and even further still, amongst those monuments that defined the city's very urban fabric. Brucker explains the need for public displays thus, "by indulging in extravagance and display, patricians were announcing their release from egalitarianism; they were emphasizing their special, exalted place in Florentine society."¹⁴⁸

The construction and, more importantly, the completion of one of the four quarter churches in Florence during someone's lifetime was an extraordinary event and a singular opportunity for patrons. By the time Santo Spirito was completed in 1481, the other quarter churches of San Giovanni (consecrated in 1059CE), Santa Maria Novella (1279CE) and Santa Croce (1294CE) must have seemed ancient. If the patrons at Santo Spirito, like the major families in the other quarter churches of the city, could express a patronal supremacy within the walls of their own quarter church, then they could physically mark a near permanent place in the annals of Florentine history for themselves, for their ancestors and for their descendants. But, in light of the uniquely "equalizing" architecture of their church, just how and where were they to choose their chapels?¹⁴⁹

A quick survey of the chapels and their respective patrons would seem to provide an immediate answer regarding how patrons eventually expressed social hierarchy within the church, that is, by simply buying multiple chapels, and, if possible, in close vicinity to each other. The four contiguous chapels of the three branches of the Corbinelli family at the western end of the western

¹⁴⁶ Nelson and Zeckhauser, 2008, 113.

¹⁴⁷ Burke, 2004, 76.

¹⁴⁸ Brucker, 1969, 124.

¹⁴⁹ Burke, 2006, 699.

arm of the church immediately stand out. **(Fig. 18, Chapels 11-14)** Opposite these, in the eastern arm of the church, there are four non-contiguous chapels that were all owned by four different branches of the Capponi family.¹⁵⁰ In the northern arm of the church, there are three chapels, two of which are contiguous, that belonged to a single branch of the Frescobaldi family. Quinterio refers to these familial chapel clusters as “*potentati*.”¹⁵¹ Because these multiple chapels were usually owned by more than one branch of the same family (*consorteria*), I prefer to refer to the chapel groups as “chapel *consortia*.” The motivation behind this tendency of one or more branches of the same family to purchase multiple chapels in a concentrated area of the church is clearly one of territorial domination. In fact, we might even describe them as “chapel enclaves.” Those patrons who appropriated entire areas of the church suddenly appeared a bit more “equal” than their peers. In fact, Frederick Antal argues that the distribution of chapel patronage in Santo Spirito was the “equivalent expression in architectural terms of the oligarchical democracy of this generation.”¹⁵²

But what is lost in simply presuming that more chapels signified more power are the historical and social machinations that ultimately determined both where a family chapel was located, and the eventual number of chapels that were conceded to a particular family. Previously in this text, I argued that what I referred to as “patron primacy” was the principal factor in determining the socio-political hierarchy of the chapel patrons in Santo Spirito. Those patrons who were given the earliest opportunity to purchase the rights of patronage over a chapel would thereby enjoy primacy in regards to both the location and the availability of chapels. In other words, the sooner a patron could choose his chapel, the greater the opportunity for obtaining a desired location and, if not immediate, eventual purchase of additional chapels. With the sale of each chapel, the smaller the window of opportunity became for each successive patron. The order of patrons to whom chapels were sold would of course supersede both eventual chapel location and quantity in reflecting the

¹⁵⁰ Kent, 1977, 105: Kent claims that “it is not possible to reconstruct with any precision the history of the two other Capponi chapels in Santo Spirito, both of which belonged to prominent men of Capponi lineage.”

¹⁵¹ Quinterio, 1992, 308.

¹⁵² F. Antal, *Florentine Painting and its Social Background*, Cambridge, 1986, 293-94.

importance of the patron, as it would fundamentally determine both. The previously unpublished archival documentation presented in this chapter regarding the sales of the first chapels in the new church of Santo Spirito are fundamental in establishing the “pecking order” of chapel patrons, and subsequently in determining the respective social hierarchy of the *quartiere*. By combining this archival information with the historical and social profiles of the earliest chapel patrons, it is clear that the social hierarchy within the quarter had as much to do with the shaping of the church as we see it today, as the arrangement of the church does in shaping our view of the social hierarchy within the *quartiere*. Or, as Niall Atkinson puts it, “...architecture and the urban environment are fundamentally social constructions.”¹⁵³

As discussed previously, the first patron to purchase a chapel concession in Santo Spirito was Stoldo Frescobaldi. Tradition maintains that the Frescobaldi family had Germanic origins and arrived in Florence for the first time in the eleventh century as part of the court of the Holy Roman Emperor Otto I.¹⁵⁴ The earliest known documents concerning the family date back to the fourteenth century and concern the offspring of a certain Frescobaldo Frescobaldi who are described as very powerful and owning numerous “towered palaces” in the *Oltrarno* area.¹⁵⁵ Due to their ownership of a rather large number of castles in the countryside surrounding Florence as well (Montelupo, Malmantile, Capraia, Montecastelli), the family was defined as “magnate”, or of noble origins, and as such, was excluded from eligibility in Florence’s highest public offices due to the reforms of 1293 and 1311, which demanded that these offices be held only by guild members.¹⁵⁶ By the later fourteenth century, the family became rather successfully involved in the banking industry.¹⁵⁷

Although it was Stoldo di Leonardo who consistently appears in the *Opera* records throughout the construction of the new church, it is important to

¹⁵³ N. Atkinson, “Architecture, Anxiety and the Fluid Topographies of Renaissance Florence” (Ph. D. dissertation, Cornell University), 2009, 1.

¹⁵⁴ ASF, *Raccolta Sebreghondi*, 2354, *carte sciolte*

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.: “palagi torrefatti” For magnate towers and palaces, see C. Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates*, Princeton, NJ, 1991, 105.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ D. Frescobaldi and F. Solinas, *I Frescobaldi: Una famiglia fiorentina*, Firenze, 2004, 44: “...it was predominantly their banking activity that was at the origins of the Frescobaldi fortunes.” For the Frescobaldi banking endeavors in England, see Frescobaldi and Solinas, 2004, 68-74.

remember that his older brother, Gherardo Frescobaldi (1394-1443), also played a significant role in the early days of the *Opera*. As clearly demonstrated earlier in this chapter, it was Gherardo Frescobaldi who had served as the first *provveditore* in the earliest days of the *Opera*, between 1434 and the year of his death in 1443.¹⁵⁸ Gherardo was the oldest of five brothers and had served in various communal offices between 1418 and 1434.¹⁵⁹ His political downfall occurred in 1434 with the return of Cosimo de'Medici from his one-year-long exile. Although the eligibility of "magnate" families for public office was actually reestablished by Cosimo de'Medici in 1434, those magnate families, such as the Frescobaldi, who had demonstrated a loyalty to the anti-Medicean Albizzi faction were permanently barred from holding public office.¹⁶⁰

Such was the fate of Gherardo's younger brother, Stoldo di Leonardo Frescobaldi (1402-1486), who was also barred from public office until the Medici began to reconcile with their rival families and revoked the law barring them from public office in 1460.¹⁶¹ In the last decade of his life, Stoldo would serve in some of the commune's highest offices.¹⁶² Although Stoldo was barred from public office in Florence for nearly three decades, during the same period, he was very actively involved in the bureaucratic and administrative proceedings for the construction of his quarter church. In fact, statistically, the Frescobaldi were bested only by the Corbinelli family in regards to the number of terms served as *operai* at Santo Spirito between 1436 and 1477. (**Table 7**) His repeated tenure as *operaio* may even have afforded Stoldo the opportunity to exercise that socio-political energy denied to him in the public institutions of the city. So while the other *operai*, most of whom were particularly active in the Medicean republic of the fifteenth century, saw the *Opera* as a means for them to express communal power within their *quartiere*, for the disenfranchised

¹⁵⁸ For Gherardo Frescobaldi's role as *provveditore*, see Section 1 of this chapter. That Gherardo Frescobaldi served as the *opera's* first *provveditore* discredits Antonio di Tuccio Manetti's (the biographer) claim that it was Stoldo di Leonardo Frescobaldi instead. See Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 122.

¹⁵⁹ ASF, *Raccolta Sebregondi*, 2354, *carte sciolte*: In 1418, Gherardo served as the *camerlengo della camera*; in 1431, he served as one of the ten of the *Balia* for the war with Genova; in 1432, he served Florence as *podestà* of Civitella.

¹⁶⁰ D. Kent, *The Rise of the Medici: Faction in Florence 1426-1434*, Oxford, 1978, 356.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² ASF, *Raccolta Sebregondi*, 2354, *carte sciolte*. In 1474 and 1481, Stoldo would serve as one of the *priori* in the *Signoria*; in 1475, he served as one of the *Sedici di Compagnia*; in 1477, he served as one of the *Dodici Buonomini*.

Stoldo, it may have been instead a means to visibly demonstrate his influence in the *quartiere* at a communal level. The Medicean regime may have prevented him from accumulating that prestige that went along with holding public office, but they could not prevent him from demonstrating the importance of his family name within its own *quartiere*. What better opportunity to do so than in the near permanent administration and subsequent role as chapel patron in his quarter church of Santo Spirito. If the Frescobaldi could present themselves as the leading family of the entire *quartiere* of Santo Spirito, then, despite their exclusion from public office, they would still appear as one of the leading families of the city.

Certainly, the family's "magnate" status already lent them a certain degree of reverence from within the quarter as one of its most ancient families.¹⁶³ Additionally, the Frescobaldi's ownership of the patronal rights of at least two chapels, including the *cappella maggiore*, in the old church of Santo Spirito clearly projected an image of an ancient family whose ancestral roots stretched all the way back to very origins of the *quartiere* itself.¹⁶⁴ This "living legacy" of the family, combined with the continual service and dedication it showed to the *Opera* of Santo Spirito clearly provided the Frescobaldi with a social and historical prestige with which no other family in the quarter could compete. It is, therefore, by no means surprising that the *ius patronatus* of the first chapel(s) in the new church of Santo Spirito, which was still very much an architectural work in progress, was sold to the Frescobaldi family, in the person of the near permanent *operaio* Stoldo di Leonardo, on August 10, 1455.¹⁶⁵ As discussed earlier in this chapter, Stoldo would immediately establish an important precedent that would generally characterize the pattern of patronage at Santo Spirito - that is, he immediately purchased the rights over multiple (2) chapels inside the church ("in two places...new chapels being made").¹⁶⁶ Obviously, without any other chapels having previously been sold, Stoldo was entirely free to choose both the location and disposition of his chapels. Not surprisingly, the two chapels were to be contiguous, giving the family a greater

¹⁶³ For family memory and ancestor reverence, see G. Ciappelli, "Family Memory: Function, Evolution, Recurrences" and N. Rubinstein, "Family, Memory, and History", *Art, Memory and Family in Renaissance Florence*, Cambridge, 2000, 26-38, 39-47.

¹⁶⁴ For chapel ownership in the old church, reference Chapter II, 1.

¹⁶⁵ The sale of the Frescobaldi chapels is discussed in Section 2 of this chapter.

¹⁶⁶ For chapel sales, see Section 2 of this chapter.

sense of patronal dominance in one area of the crossing of the church. Stoldo's choice for the location of these contiguous chapels on the western side of the northern arm (*testata*) of the church was by no means arbitrary. This was the part of the church that came into direct contact with both land and buildings belonging to the Frescobaldi family. **(Fig. 28)**

In the middle of the thirteenth century, Lamberto Frescobaldi had overseen the construction of the Santa Trinita bridge in order to connect his then two new palaces at the corner of the Via del Fondaccio (now Via Santo Spirito) and the Via Maggio with the rest of the city.¹⁶⁷ In fact it was Lamberto's domestic and urban patronage in such a specific area of the city that eventually brought the name "Frescobaldi" to the piazza located between the two palaces at the southern end of the Santa Trinita bridge. But the Frescobaldi also owned property along the western end of the Via del Fondaccio, at the corner with the Via della Ciculia (now Via dei Serragli), which is where the home and gardens of Stoldo and his brother, Lamberto di Leonardo were once located.¹⁶⁸ So instead of choosing two chapels on the eastern side of the northern arm of the church, which projected northeast towards the ancestral homes of the Frescobaldi on the homonymous piazza, Stoldo chose chapels that literally and physically bordered with his own property that was situated northwest of the church. Quinterio, in fact, claims that, in addition to being renowned for hosting the Angevin king, Charles I, in 1301, a portion of this very land was actually conceded to the friars of Santo Spirito for the construction of their convent.¹⁶⁹ Certain authors maintain that the proximity of Frescobaldi buildings and land to the church was the reason why Brunelleschi's idea to orient the church facing towards the Arno was rejected, as it would have involved the demolition of Frescobaldi properties.¹⁷⁰ Regardless of the role that the land played in the orientation of the church, Stoldo's motivation in choosing his two chapels adjacent to his own property was to create a physical continuum between his own family's domestic patronage and the church itself.

¹⁶⁷ Frescobaldi and Solinas, 2004, 24.

¹⁶⁸ For the ownership of homes and properties around the northern end of Santo Spirito, see Quinterio, 1992, 311, Fig. 6

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 308, n. 46. Frescobaldi and Solinas, (2004, 100) also claim that Stoldo donated land for the realization of the church.

¹⁷⁰ Frescobaldi and Solinas, (2004, 100) For the discussion concerning Brunelleschi's rejected intentions of reversing the church, see Chapter I, 2.

This continuum was further reinforced by the concession of a third chapel to Stoldo Frescobaldi, albeit thirty years later, in the same area of the church. On June 6, 1483, the *Opera* of Santo Spirito decided to concede a third chapel to Stoldo Frescobaldi “in the crossing” of the new church of Santo Spirito because “...of the love of the third chapel he had in the old church.”¹⁷¹ It appears that the general consensus was that if the Frescobaldi owned three chapels in the old church, then they should also own three in the new. Considering that nearly thirty years had passed since the first crossing chapels were sold, one would imagine that Stoldo’s options regarding the location of this third chapel might have been limited. More than half of the family chapels in the crossing had already been sold to other patrons, so it would logically seem that arranging this third chapel in the vicinity of the previous two would have been a difficult task. Instead, both the *Opera* and the chapel patron seem to have found a mutually satisfactory solution. An entry in the third and final *Opera* notebook, dated November 18, 1485, records the sale of the chapel:

...they concede to the heir of Giovanni di [...] Frescobaldi a chapel located in the head of the crossing, next to the chapel of Messer Luca Pitti and that one belonging to Giovanni de’Bardi, between these two chapels for the price of 500 florins *di suggello*...¹⁷²

Why would a chapel with such a prestigious location in the northern arm of the crossing still be available thirty years after the sale of the crossing chapels began? The reason is that that specific chapel had not been originally intended for sale to a private patron. The chapel that was sold to Giovanni Frescobaldi in 1485 was the “principal chapel of the building” that had been designated to bear the arms of the Commune on April 3, 1459.¹⁷³ That no mention of the original intention for the chapel is made, and that it was no longer considered to be the “principal” chapel of the church, but just that chapel

¹⁷¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 66v. (First cited but not transcribed by J. Burke, 2004, 74, n. 66) : “E adì deliberorono e per loro partito concedettono a Stoldo di Lionardo Frescobaldi per amore della 1/3 chapella aveva nella chiesa vechia...dessa a sua scelta di detta chapella nella croce...”

¹⁷² ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 233v. (first cited, but not transcribed, in relation to the sale of the Segni chapel by Burke, 2004, 74, n.65): “E detto di loro partito concedettono a Giovanni di [...] Frescobaldi una chapella posta nela testa della croce a lato a la chapella d Messer Lucha Pitti e quello di Giovanni de’ Bardi nel mezzo di queste due chapelle per prezzo di fiorini 500 di suggello...”

¹⁷³ The sale of this chapel is discussed in Section 2 of this chapter.

“between these two chapels”, suggests that the *Opera* may have been more concerned with the politics of local patronage than it was with communal symbolism. Although the early period of the construction history of the church was mainly characterized by the financial relationship between the *Opera* and the commune, this later period was clearly one dominated by familial patronage from within the *quartiere* itself. Ultimately, the arms of both the commune and the *popolo* would be placed on the northern clerestory wall of the church. This final arrangement was a clear signal that the dynamics of the commune-*Opera-quartiere* relationship had changed. The cause of this change was not only that the revenue generated from private chapel patronage far outweighed any public funding received by the *Opera*, but also because once the elite citizens of the *quartiere* became directly involved in patronage at the church, private representation within the quarter superseded the public representation of the church within the commune. The church would still bear the arms of the commune, reflecting the role of Santo Spirito in its urban and communal context; but the chapels would bear only the arms of their respective family patrons, emphasizing the role of Santo Spirito specifically within its *quartiere*.

With the sale of the third family chapel to Giovanni Frescobaldi in 1485, the Frescobaldi family had consolidated its role as the dominant family in the northern crossing arm (*testata*) of the church. Owning the rights of patronage over three of the eight chapels in this particular arm of the church was in all probability a concerted and conscious attempt on the part of the family to reestablish a sense of a *cappella maggiore* within the new church. The analogous position of the northern arm of the new church behind the high altar (like a traditional *cappella maggiore*) would reinforce this similarity. The fact that all the other chapel patrons in the northern crossing arm of the church limited their patronage to a single chapel was perhaps a sign of deference to the Frescobaldi family as the leading family within Santo Spirito, as they had been in the old church. That the other chapel patrons in the northern arm of the church would include some of the city's most powerful Medicean supporters, such as Lucca Pitti and Lorenzo Ridolfi, is also a clear indication that the loyalties within the *quartiere*, even to a disenfranchised magnate family, far outweighed all others. In the patronal tradition that characterized the sale of family chapels in Santo Spirito, the Frescobaldi family would emerge as one of the three dominant families (along with the Capponi and Corbinelli) that would

eventually claim the rights of ownership over a total of four chapels within the church.¹⁷⁴

While the patronal primacy conceded to the Frescobaldi was a logical consequence of the family's history, prestige and service in the *Opera*, it is not clear why the same privilege was granted to Tanai di Francesco de' Nerli (1427-1498), who most probably received his chapel concession in the same year as Stoldo Frescobaldi (1455).¹⁷⁵ This fact is rather surprising as not only had the Nerli family not owned a chapel in the old church of Santo Spirito, no member of the family had ever served as an *operaio*. It is also worth noting that Tanai (whose real name was Jacopo) was only twenty-eight years old at the time the chapel was conceded to him. So how is it that a young man whose family had neither an ancestral claim in the old church nor bureaucratic leverage within the *Opera* was assigned a chapel years before men of the quarter who could claim both? The particular familial circumstances of the Nerli rendered them rather unique amongst the patrons of Santo Spirito. After more than a century of exile, the family returned to Florence from France in 1434.¹⁷⁶ Francesco de' Nerli (Tanai's father) was probably very eager to reestablish a legacy for his family. In fact, at the tender age of eighteen, Tanai married the daughter of Neri di Gino Capponi, *operaio* and chapel patron at Santo Spirito, and eventually fathered fifteen children.¹⁷⁷ By 1453, Tanai had become the *pater familias* of his lineage and sole heir to the family's estate as his father, Francesco, had died two years earlier in 1451, and his older brother, Filippo had died as a child.¹⁷⁸ It was now the responsibility of Tanai to reestablish the family in the new socio-economic reality of both the *quartiere* and the city. Fortunately, his father had left him in good hands. Considering the Nerli family's lack of pedigree as either chapel patrons in the old church or as *operai* for the new, it was most likely Tanai's father-in-law, the very influential Neri di Gino Capponi, who had arranged for the chapel concession. Neri di Gino's familial generosity was similarly demonstrated when he let a relative live rent free in one of his properties in

¹⁷⁴ For the fourth Frescobaldi chapel in Santo Spirito, see Quinterio, 1992, 308.

¹⁷⁵ For discussion of the concession of the chapel and probable date, see Section 2 of this chapter.

¹⁷⁶ D. Rapino, *La Pala Nerli di Filippino Lippi in Santo Spirito*, Firenze, 2013, 11. See also J. Bridgeman, "Filippino Lippi's Nerli altar-piece – a new date", *The Burlington Magazine*, 1988, 668-671.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

order to "... get his nephew started..." in business.¹⁷⁹ The very location of the Nerli chapel would support such a hypothesis. Situated on the eastern side of the eastern transept arm of the church, the Nerli chapel is only a single chapel-bay away from the earliest Capponi chapel and eventual sepulcher of his father-in-law, Neri di Gino Capponi himself. **(Fig. 33, Chapels 28 & 26)** Furthermore, over time, the eastern transept arm is where the various branches of the Capponi family would establish their chapel *consortia*, owning the patronage rights over four of the eight total chapels. The inclusion of the Nerli chapel within the Capponi chapel *consortia* was perhaps a direct architectural expression of Tanai Nerli's inclusion in the larger Capponi *consorteria*.

The chapel that separated father and son-in-law belonged to the Nasi family. It was sold to Lutozzo di Jacopo and "*nipoti*" on April 3, 1459.¹⁸⁰ Lutozzo di Jacopo Nasi was the brother of one of the original nine Santo Spirito *operai* of 1436, Giovanni di Jacopo di Lutozzo Nasi, and the head of the "...richer and larger side of the lineage."¹⁸¹ Burke suggests that, "the family's rise to political and social prominence over the fifteenth century was prodigious", and was in large part the result of Lutozzo having "...obviously been on the winning side in Cosimo de'Medici's expulsion and triumphant return in 1434...."¹⁸² Yet, although Lutozzo was clearly the *pater familias*, the Nasi chapel in Santo Spirito was actually sold to him and his "*nipoti*" - which in this instance meant nephews.¹⁸³ The cost of the chapel was actually divided between Lutozzo and his defunct brother's five sons:

The underwritten Lutozzo di Jacopo [Nasi], for half the cost, confirms the chapel, and Jacopo, Agostino, and Battista, brothers and sons of the deceased Giovanni di Jacopo di Lutozzo, in their own names and in the name of their brothers, Boniface and Giuliano, for whom they promise the remaining half [of the cost] and each of them promise etc. to maintain the concession of the chapel...¹⁸⁴

So while an individual (Stoldo Frescobaldi) had purchased the rights to the two Frescobaldi chapels, and the concession of the Nerli chapel most probably took

¹⁷⁹ Kent, 1977, 65.

¹⁸⁰ For sale of the Nasi chapel, see Section 2 of this chapter.

¹⁸¹ Burke, 2004, 19.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ In the Italian language, "*nipoti*" can also refer to "grandchildren."

¹⁸⁴ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 14r. For document, see Appendix A, Doc. 6.

place under the auspices of another, more important patron (Neri di Gino Capponi), the Nasi chapel actually enjoyed collective ownership divided amongst at least two branches of the same family. This combined chapel patronage also succinctly reflected the involvement of the family in the *Opera* at Santo Spirito. Although it was Giovanni di Jacopo (and not Lutozzo di Jacopo) Nasi who was active in the early days of the *Opera*, it would eventually be his nephews, Piero and Bernardo di Lutozzo Nasi, who would continue the collective family tradition of representation on the *Opera* by consistently serving as *operai* for nearly a half a century more.¹⁸⁵

In the case of the Biliotti chapel though, a single branch of the family originally owned the rights of patronage over a single chapel, only to eventually divide ownership amongst a *consorteria*. Gianozzo Biliotti, was one of the six men to receive rights of patronage over a chapel in Santo Spirito on April 3, 1459.¹⁸⁶ In addition to being chapel owners in the old church, the Biliotti family, with branches registered in both *Nicchio* and *Ferza*, also had a rather impressive political legacy in the commune. Between 1299 and 1529, ten *Gonfalonieri di Giustizia*, fifty-eight Priors, and thirty *Buonomini* came from within the ranks of the Biliotti family.¹⁸⁷ Although the specific cost of his chapel is not indicated in the document that records its concession, a record in the *Catasto* of 1480 indicates that it was the same standard price of 500 florins as the other chapels in the crossing.¹⁸⁸ But an entry into the later *Libro de' debitori e creditor dal 1477 al 1496* indicates that, as of 1483, that amount had not yet been paid in full, and for that reason, the rights of patronage over the chapel would be shared by other branches of the Biliotti family in exchange for their contribution to the payment of the remaining balance of 300 florins:

...they deliberate that the chapel that was conceded to Giovanozzo Biliotti the other time [April 3, 1459], he has not paid in full and in the future will not be able to pay, so Zanobi Biliotti and all the others of the family desire to have a chapel in the new church, like in the old church, in the name of the entire House of Biliotti. And for this reason, said *operai* concede a chapel to the

¹⁸⁵ See Appendix D for Lists of *Operai*.

¹⁸⁶ For the record of the chapel concession, see Section 2 of this chapter.

¹⁸⁷ ASF, CRS, *Raccolta Sebgregondi*, 736, *carte sciolte*

¹⁸⁸ A. Blume, "Studies in the Religious Paintings of Sandro Botticelli", (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University), 1995, 82.

entire House of Biliotti in the said chapel once conceded to Giovanozzo Biliotti...¹⁸⁹

So in this case, the rights over a chapel had been transferred from an individual branch of the family to an entire *consorteria*. Although the motivation given was non-payment on the part of Giovanozzo's branch, it seems that the other family branches were also motivated in wanting to restore things to the way they were in the old church where a Biliotti *consorteria* collectively owned the rights over a single chapel. To publicly demonstrate the new collective ownership over the chapel in the new church, the *Opera* ordered, "...that the common coat of arms of the House of Biliotti be placed [in the said chapel] as it was in the old chapel..."¹⁹⁰ That is to say, that the arms of Giovanozzo's branch of the family be replaced with the more common coat of arms that represented the entire *consorteria*, and once again, the record implies returning things to the way they were in the old church ("...as it was in the old chapel..."). Ancestor reverence and the tradition of *consorteria* chapel ownership had won the day over Giovanozzo Biliotti's earlier move towards individualism.¹⁹¹

Four distinct branches of a *consorteria* instead purchased the four individual Capponi chapels in the eastern arm of the church. The choice to concentrate their patronage in the eastern arm of the church may have been motivated by its proximity to the surrounding Capponi properties, since the "...area between Piazza Frescobaldi and the church of San Frediano...

¹⁸⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 71v. (First cited, but not transcribed by A. Blume, 1995, 81):

Giovedì 11 di dicembre MCCCCLXXXIII

E detto di per loro partito deliberorono chella chapella altra volta conceduta a Giovanozzo Biliotti perche non a paghata lintero e per lavenire si vedeno poter paghare. E Zanobi Biliotti e tutti gli altri della chasa desiderono fatto nome della chasa di tutti i Biliotti avere una chapella nella chiesa nuova chomera nella vecchia e per detta chagione detti operai concedettono a tutta la chasa de Biliotti in detta chapella concessi a Giovanozzo Biliotti altra volta della quale chapella deono paghino f. trecento di suggello in questo modo cioè paghando per tutto gennaio

¹⁹⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 115v. – "Cosi vi si debba mettere l'arma commune della chasa de Biliotti chomera nella detta chapella vecchia..."

¹⁹¹ Curiously, the inverse tendency was true for palace construction, as no Renaissance palace was ever built by a *consorteria*. For Renaissance palaces, see Kent, 1987, 45.

contained about half of their [Capponi's] houses."¹⁹² In fact, it seems that in addition to the Frescobaldi, the Capponi family can also lay some claims to thwarting Brunelleschi's alleged intentions to reverse the direction of the church. Such a claim could be seen to reflect the prestige of a family, since only the very powerful could alter the intentions of an architect as revered as Brunelleschi. Kent writes, "Neri Capponi, though a powerful backer of the rebuilding, can hardly have approved a scheme which would have cut a swathe right through his own and his own lineage's houses."¹⁹³ Therefore, like the Frescobaldi before them, the Capponi also created a continuum through proximity between their patronage inside of the church and the greater urban area around it.

The first Capponi chapel was sold to Gino di Neri Capponi on April 3, 1459 for 500 florins.¹⁹⁴ Since the chapel patron's father and influential *operaio*, Neri di Gino, is entombed in the eastern most chapel of the northern side of the eastern transept arm, this was presumably the chapel sold to Gino di Neri Capponi. (**Fig.'s 32 & 33, Chapel 26**) Very little is known about the remaining three Capponi chapels.¹⁹⁵ F.W. Kent claims that,

One of them was under the patronage of Messer Guglielmo di Nicola, who bought it in the last decade of the *Quattrocento*, and the other of Niccolò di Giovanni; the second called 'the chapel of ... Niccolò Capponi and his descendants,' was dedicated to St. Augustine.¹⁹⁶

Two undated and unpublished inventories of the chapel owners in the new church of Santo Spirito shed significant light regarding the ownership of the Capponi chapels.¹⁹⁷ Both documents concur that the Capponi chapel closest to the nave is dedicated to St. Augustine, and one inventory identifies Niccolò del Grasso Capponi as its patron. (**Fig. 18, Chapel 32**) This new archival

¹⁹² Kent, 1977, 232-233.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 233.

¹⁹⁴ For document recording sale of chapel, see Section 2 of this chapter.

¹⁹⁵ Curiously, Kent accounts for only three of the four Capponi chapels when, after having discussed the chapel containing the sepulcher of Neri di Gino Capponi, he continues by claiming, "It is not possible to reconstruct with any precision the history of the two other Capponi chapels in Santo Spirito, both of which belonged to prominent men of the Capponi lineage." (Kent, 1977, 105.)

¹⁹⁶ Kent, 1977, 105.

¹⁹⁷ ASF, *Manoscritti*, 622, 1r.-2v. and ASF, CRS, 122, 37 (*Libro degli Obblighi*), 7r., 8r., 12r., 13r. For documents, see Appendix A, Doc.'s 2 and 9.

information would confirm the abovementioned claim proposed by Kent, who instead drew his conclusions from indirect references to the chapels in wills.¹⁹⁸ Niccolò di Giovanni (1416-1491), whose father was known as *il Grasso* (“the fat”) was a distant cousin of Neri di Gino. It also appears that this particular chapel fell under Capponi patronage vis-à-vis the Augustinian chapter and convent. A previously unknown entry in the later *Libro dei Debitori e Creditori dal 1477-1496*, dated April 25, 1485, records that,

[The opera] concede to the friars and chapter of Santo Spirito a chapel that is in the crossing on the side where the crucifix is located, and in front of the chapel of the House of Capponi, with the condition that the chapel be dedicated to St. Augustine and that the said friars can concede it to whomever the wish.¹⁹⁹

Perhaps assigning a chapel to the convent, which they could then sell “to whomever they wish” was an indirect way of diverting some the chapel concession proceeds directly to the friars themselves. It may also have been an attempt to involve the convent more directly in the all-important aspect of the distribution of rights over the chapels within their church, and thereby in the church as a whole.

The adjacent Capponi chapel (eastern chapel on the southern side of eastern transept arm) is identified in both archival sources as representing the branch of the Capponi family from the town of Altopascio, and in one source as being dedicated to St. Monica. **(Fig. 18, Chapel 31)** This branch of the family was made up of three brothers - Nicola (1407-1485), Bartolomeo (1408-1487) and Messer Giovanni (1413-1493). The fourth Capponi chapel (adjacent to the one sold to Gino di Neri) is identified in one of the archival sources as belonging to a branch of the family known as the “Capponi sul canto”, and the original patron is identified as Mico d’Uguccione (1420-1504). **(Fig. 18, Chapel 25)** The other inventory instead identifies its original patron as Recco Capponi (1433-

¹⁹⁸ Kent, 1977, 105, n. 187.

¹⁹⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 76v.:

25 aprile 1485

Concedettono a frati e capitolo di Santo Spirito una chapella la quale e in sul canto della croce da lato dove il crocifisso che e di ripentio la chapella de la chasa de Chaponi con condizione che la sia titolata Santo Agostino che e detti frati la posino concedere a chi para a loro

c.1491), who, it turns out, was the younger brother of Mico.²⁰⁰ Therefore, regardless of which brother was the original patron, both documents confirm that the chapel in discussion belonged to this particular branch of the family,

Considering that by 1427, the Capponi family numbered twelve distinct households in the *Oltrarno* alone, it should not be surprising that four distinct branches of the family owned the four chapels.²⁰¹ At this time, a majority of the households were concentrated in the *gonfalone* of *Nicchio*, but by 1480, contingents of the Capponi family resided in every district of the Santo Spirito quarter.²⁰² They had also married into nine different families from within the quarter.²⁰³ Kent describes the relationship of the Capponi and their *quartiere* as follows:

The Capponi family in effect had managed by the sixteenth century to make the entire quarter of Santo Spirito as secure a political base as most Florentine families... found one *gonfalone* to be.²⁰⁴

Even many of the Altopascio Capponi "...who were established at this last place..." and "were deeply committed there as patrons and landowners", would eventually return to Santo Spirito for burial.²⁰⁵ Moreover, it was not uncommon for the corpses of family members who had died outside of Florence to be "...transported some distance to be reunited with the other Capponi dead" in Santo Spirito.²⁰⁶

So if the family was represented in various contingents throughout all four of the *gonfaloni* of the *quartiere* (and also outside of the city), the logical nexus for the collective patronage of these various contingents would be their quarter church, united under name and symbol. As Kent puts it,

... the public and formal badges of membership of a *consorteria* were its surname and its coat of arms: by their use men linked

²⁰⁰ Recco and Mico di Ugucione were in turn first cousins of Niccolò del Grasso

²⁰¹ Kent, 1977, 17.

²⁰² Ibid., 187.

²⁰³ Ibid., 197.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 195.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 237.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 259- 260. Kent provides a series of historical episodes where the bodies of deceased members of the Capponi family were transported, at both communal and familial expense, to Santo Spirito for burial.

themselves to the past and established themselves as part of the family continuum and community.²⁰⁷

In fact, with the exception of the distinct decorative schemes within the four chapels, it would be impossible to distinguish between them based solely on the visible coats of arms. This is not only due to Brunelleschi's uniform chapel scheme, but also due to the homogeneity of the Capponi arms displayed in all four chapels that gives the chapels a collective identity. Thus, the first names of at least four individual chapel patrons coalesce into the collective family continuum of the surname and symbol of the "Capponi" family.

Such was not the case regarding the Bardi chapel, whose ownership passed through three different branches of the same family, and on one occasion with a varying surname. As discussed earlier, on August 13, 1460, the rights of patronage over the chapel second from the western end of the northern side of the northern crossing arm, passed from Jacopo di Bernardo dei Bardi to one Lorenzo di Larione.²⁰⁸ (**Fig. 33, Chapel 19**) As the names of the patrons are clearly different, it would seem that the rights of the chapel were passing from one family to another - Bardi to Larione. The wording of the record of transfer further supports this scenario, "...and there be his [Larione] arms placed and be removed those of the Bardi." Different families would of course also possess different arms, and as the ownership of the chapel was changing hands, subsequently, so too would the respective arms. Yet, an ambiguous clause in the record of the transfer indicates that this was not in fact the case. The *Opera* ordered that "... to him [Lorenzo Larione] be transferred the money paid by Jacopo di Bernardo Bardi."²⁰⁹ If, in fact, the rights of patronage were passing between two different families, what right did the Larione have to the money already paid by the Bardi? This might only be the case had both parties been from the same family, which, further archival information reveals, they were.

Lorenzo di Larione was actually the son of Lippaccio de' Bardi. But on August 23, 1452, he legally changed his name to "di Larione" or more correctly "Ilarioni", perhaps seeking to create a new and autonomous legacy for himself

²⁰⁷ Kent, 1977, 254.

²⁰⁸ For the transfer of the rights of the chapel, see Section 2 of this chapter.

²⁰⁹ ASF, *Carte Stroziane* II, 93, 14v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6).

and his lineage.²¹⁰ This is the first unusual instance in which a chapel owned by one family member was entirely conceded to another. The reason the chapel changed hands was, not surprisingly, delinquent payment. It seems that the original Bardi patron, Jacopo di Bernardo, had already paid some of the cost of the chapel and that those funds would be “diverted” (*stornati*) or credited to Lorenzo di Larione de’ Bardi. A later entry in the *Libretto*, dated October 1, 1460 records that the chapel “next to the one with the arms of the commune” was sold to Lorenzo di Larione for the cost of 350 florins.²¹¹ This suggests that Jacopo di Bernardo de’ Bardi had probably already paid 150 florins, which were deducted from the 500 florin total cost of the chapel.

Despite only having to pay a part of the total cost of the chapel, Lorenzo di Larione [de’ Bardi] also failed to pay it off in full. On August 12, 1483, the chapel was sold again to another Bardi family member:

... being aware of the concession made to Giovanni de’ Bardi... of the chapel that was sold to Jacopo de’ Bardi and then to Lorenzo Larioni and then to Giovanni de’ Bardi for 150 florins *di suggello*... and then having had testament from Lorenzo di Larione who wanted that all his belongings (*ragioni*) were conceded to said Giovanni, and seeing that said Lorenzo has already paid 200 florins, and for this reason it is deliberated that the said Giovanni pay one hundred florins *di suggello*²¹²

So despite having legally changed his name from “Bardi” to “Larioni”, Lorenzo was clearly still closely associated with his former family. Not only had he taken over the rights over the chapel from Jacopo de’ Bardi, he explicitly indicated in the aforementioned archival entry that the chapel be conceded to Giovanni de’ Bardi. Lorenzo was, in essence, keeping it in the family. Curiously, in this last

²¹⁰ ASF, *Raccolta Sebreondi*, 396/c. For the discussion of the transfer of the rights over this chapel, see Section 2 of this chapter.

²¹¹ ASF, *Carte Stroziane* II, 93, 15r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6)

²¹² ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 68v. (First cited and transcribed in Blume, 1995, 82. Although, Blume failed to realize that Lorenzo di Larione was, in fact, an estranged member of the Bardi family as well.): “E adì detto avendo avertenze alla concessione fatta a Giovanni de Bardi...della chapella che fu concordato a Jacopo de Bardi ed poi a Lorenzo Larioni ed poi a Giovanni de Bardi per f. 150 di suggello ed poi avendo testamento da Lorenzo di Larioni Larioni che voleva che ogni sua ragione si concedesse a detto [] Giovanni che dato che detto Lorenzo già paghato f. 200 per detta cagione deliberono che detto Giovanni paghassi f. cento di suggello e non più per resto di detta chapella ...”

passage of chapel ownership, no mention of changing the arms of families is mentioned (“Ilarioni” to Bardi”), but one would presume that they indeed did.

The entry also clearly indicates that Giovanni de’ Bardi, who had recently moved out of the Santo Spirito quarter to Santa Croce, was receiving a discount on the cost of the rights over the chapel.²¹³ If the original cost of the chapel was 500 florins, and Jacopo de’Bardi, the original chapel patron, had paid 150 florins, while Lorenzo di Larione had paid, as the above document attests, 200 florins, the remaining balance was 150 florins. This amount, in fact, was the originally agreed upon price for Giovanni, yet he would only have to pay 100 florins (*fiorini cento di suggello e non più per resto di detta chapella*). Perhaps the discount of 50 florins was an incentive on the part of an exacerbadated *Opera* that, in spite of having seen the chapel change hands three times over a twenty-three year period, had yet to see the chapel paid off in full, and so thought that a reduced price might expedite payment.

Whereas the rights of patronage over the Bardi chapel were successively sold to three different men from the same family at different times over a quarter century, the rights to the Ridolfi chapel were instead collectively purchased at one time by eleven different Ridolfi men. An entry in the later *Libro*, dated June 12, 1486, records, “All the heads of the houses of their *consorteria*, having gathered together, and having made an agreement so that their chapel would be paid for by that which was owed by each [house].”²¹⁴ That the *consorteria* being referred to is that of the Ridolfi is certain, as the first part of the entry indicates that it was “Nicholo di Luigi di Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi” who informed the *Opera* of the family’s plan of action. The last part of the document instead lists the exact amounts owed by eleven different Ridolfi men, which was 27 lire 5 denari and 6 soldi. This would result in a total cost for the chapel of 300 florins, as opposed to the standard 500 florins. So, in the case of the Ridolfi family, instead of different branches of the family buying separate and individual

²¹³ Blume, 1995, 78.

²¹⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 81r. (First cited but not transcribed by Blume, 1995, 82.) -

June 12, 1486

Nicholo di Luigi di Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi

Raghunati insieme tutti chapi delle chase della chonsorteria loro e che d’achordo avevano fatto perche la loro chapella si paghassi quello con quanto ne tocchava a cascheduno e che a lui avevano chomesso che mi facessi achonnare

chapels (as the Capponi had), all eleven branches simply split the cost of a single chapel; and, as opposed to the Biliotti chapel, which was initially owned by a single branch of the family, only to eventually be sold off to the entire Biliotti *consorteria*, the Ridolfi chapel appears to have always enjoyed collective *consorteria* ownership. The chapel of the Ridolfi *consorteria* is located at the eastern extreme of the northern side of the northern arm. **(Fig. 18, Chapel 22)**

The Ridolfi family was one of the most influential political families in Florence at a communal level. Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi, one of the early *operai* at Santo Spirito, enjoyed an extraordinary political career.²¹⁵ In addition, at a local level, various men from successive generations of the Ridolfi family served as *operai* for Santo Spirito at least eight times during its construction.²¹⁶ Only the Corbinelli family had a greater presence on the *Opera*, serving nine times, while the Frescobaldi equaled the Ridolfi with eight tenures as *operai*, and like the Frescobaldi, the Ridolfi had owned a chapel in the old church of Santo Spirito. Yet, while the Corbinelli eventually gained the rights over four chapels in the church, and the Frescobaldi over three, the Ridolfi family was represented in the relatively modest form of a single, collective family chapel. That the Ridolfi family collectively owned only one chapel in Santo Spirito is not entirely surprising because, as has been discussed previously, members of this family were entombed in as many as three other parish churches (San Pietro Martire, San Felicità, San Jacopo Sopr'Arno) within three different *gonfalon*i (*Scala*, *Nicchio*, *Ferza*) within the *quartiere*. So while individual branches of the family may have demonstrated significant devotion and loyalty to their local parish churches, ultimately a chapel in new church of Santo Spirito was an effective means by which to umbrella all the branches of the *quartiere* in name and

²¹⁵ For Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi, see L. Armstrong, *Usury and Public Debt in Early Renaissance Florence: Lorenzo Ridolfi on the 'Monte Comune'*, Toronto, 2003, 7: "Until 1434, Ridolfi numbered among the dozen most influential men in the republic and was one of the three lawyers who played a leading role in government." See also K. Duclaux, "Cum plenissima balia: The Influential Operai of Santo Spirito", Masters thesis, Syracuse University, 1996, 7: "It would be difficult to find a more powerful advocate within the Commune than Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi, whose political career spanned more than 55 years. Ridolfi was Gonfaloniere of Justice in 1426; then, in 1428 an official of the *Monte* or public funded debt; then later, on behalf of the Medici, he was instrumental in the 1434 and 1438 special governing committees, or *Balie*. During the difficult years of the war with Lucca, Ridolfi was a member of the important *Dieci di Balia* or war council, along with his fellow *operaio*, Neri di Gino Capponi."

²¹⁶ For members of the Ridolfi who served as *operai*, see Table 7.

symbol. Considering the prestige of the family, it was also perhaps expected of them to take up patronage of at least one chapel within the quarter church.

Although what is surprising is that a chapel was conceded to such an important family more than three decades after the earliest chapel concessions. The other families who had provided early *operai* - Frescobaldi, Nasi, Capponi, Biliotti - had received chapels as early as 1455. So too had other families that had never even served on the *Opera*, such as the Nerli, Bardi, Pitti, Ubertini, and Antinori. The ultimate risk for the Ridolfi would be that all of the crossing chapels had already been assigned to other patrons. Andrew Blume claims the reason for the tardy chapel concession was financial turmoil within Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi's branch of the family - "the Ridolfi family also had trouble fulfilling their obligations for a chapel in the old church. In the tax returns of the heirs of Lorenzo Ridolfi, a chapel in Santo Spirito was listed as among the outstanding obligations of Lorenzo's 1450 will."²¹⁷ Thus, if the family had still not paid off its obligations for a chapel in the old church by 1450, that is, shortly before chapel concessions began in the new church, the *Opera* may have shown reservation in conceding a new chapel obligation to them, and at the same time, the family may have been reluctant in purchasing one. Purchasing the rights of patronage over multiple chapels was most likely completely out of the question. It appears that the collective *consorteria* patronage over one chapel may not only have been a practical financial solution, but also a way for the other branches of the Ridolfi family to assist in avoiding public embarrassment for the financially troubled branch of Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi. The *Opera* may also have lent a financial hand in saving family honor as the Ridolfi chapel was the only crossing chapel whose cost was 300 florins instead of the standard 500 florins. Since there is no record in the document of any previous payment having already been made by the Ridolfi, as was custom in the *Opera* records concerning chapel sales, it is quite likely that the chapel was sold to the Ridolfi *consorteria* at a discounted rate.

The sale of the Ridolfi chapel also reveals that more than thirty years after the earliest chapel concessions, crossing chapels were still evidently available for potential patrons. Or were they? On April 15, 1482, the *Opera* conceded a chapel to Giovanni d'Orsino Lanfredini, whose location is described

²¹⁷ Blume, 1995, 82.

as "...between [the] Corbinelli and the Ubertini [chapels]."²¹⁸ The Lanfredini chapel is, in fact, located between the Ubertini and Corbinelli chapels on the northern side of the western transept arm.²¹⁹ **(Fig. 18, Chapel 15)** On November 18, 1485, another crossing chapel was conceded to Bernardo di Stefano Segni, which was "... located in the crossing above and next to the Corbinelli chapel... for a price of 500 florins..."²²⁰ The Segni chapel is in fact located between the Corbinelli and Antinori chapel on the southern side of the western transept arm.²²¹ **(Fig. 18, Chapel 10)** So between 1482 and 1486, three crossing chapels had been sold to three different families. One family - the Ridolfi - was having financial problems and resorted to collective *consorteria* patronage to redeem their chapel, while the other two chapel owners were relative new comers, as none of their family members had never served on an *Opera*.

So how was it that one of the first chapel patrons, Mariotto della Palla, who received the rights to his chapel nearly thirty years earlier in 1460 was conceded a chapel in the nave of the church if crossing chapels were still available twenty-five years later to these other families?²²² Clearly, the crossing chapels were not intended for just any patron who had the financial means to purchase them. Burke writes, "... throughout the fifteenth century, the chapels farthest from the high altar were always ceded to men who were not on the *Opera* and, typically, were of a lower social status... This was not a matter of these smaller families having less money."²²³ In fact, Della Palla paid the same amount for his chapel in the nave as those patrons of crossing chapels, that is

²¹⁸ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 57v. (First cited but not transcribed by Blume, 1995, 83.) : "Raghunorosi gli spettabili operai... e per loro partito... concedettono a Giovanni d'Orsino Lanfredini la chappella tra Corbinegli e gli Ubertini..."

²¹⁹ By 1754, the Lanfredini chapel was owned by the Bini family. See Blume, 1995, 83.

²²⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 233v. (First cited but not transcribed by Burke, 2004, 74, n. 65) : "E detto per loro partito concedettono a Bernardo di Stefano Segni una chapella pose nella croce di sopra a lato al chapella de Chorbinelli nel chanto per prezio di fiorni 500 di suggello..."

²²¹ For the decoration of the Segni chapel, see S. Francolini, "L'arredo pittorico della Cappella Segni nella Chiesa di Santo Spirito a Firenze", *L'Altare Segni*, Firenze, 1999.

²²² For chapel concession, see Section 2 of this chapter.

²²³ Burke, 2004, 74.

500 florins.²²⁴ An implicit social hierarchy was clearly guiding the chapel concessions. With so many chapels still available in the crossing, it is surprising that Della Palla would instead choose one in the nave. His selection may have been the result of a predetermined internal hierarchy amongst the citizens of the Santo Spirito quarter. Burke maintains that the Della Palla were of a lower social (not economic) status than the other “crossing chapel” patrons.²²⁵ Therefore, regardless of availability, the crossing chapels would only be conceded to patrons of a certain social fiber. Such a hypothesis is further supported by the rather rigorous treatment reserved for Mariotto di Marco Della Palla regarding the payment for his chapel in a single installment of 500 florins within one month of the actual concession.

On March 31, 1486, another nave chapel was sold to Domenico di Bernardo Dei for the price of 300 florins.²²⁶ This was too much for the Della Palla family! Not only had they in essence been implicitly expected to buy a chapel outside of the more prestigious crossing area, but they had also paid 200 florins more than another nave chapel patron. On March 8, 1490, Marco di Mariotto della Palla filed a formal complaint with the *Opera* claiming that “... his chapel that was priced at 500 florins was too high a price being as it was outside of the crossing, and he wanted to modify the price...”²²⁷ It is not known how or if the issue was resolved. But clearly, wealth was not the only factor in determining prestige within the *quartiere*.

²²⁴ Burke erroneously claims that the cost of the Della Palla chapel was 150 florins, but even more importantly that the crossing chapels that were sold earlier were sold at a price of 50 to 100 florins, instead of the standard cost of 500 florins. She also mistakenly interprets the later sale of the Segni chapel for 500 florins as an inexplicable increase in chapel prices: “The Petrini and Della Palla chapels each cost 150 florins as opposed to the 50-100 paid for the transept chapels by the *operai* some years earlier. By 1495, the Segni bought a chapel on the left transept for 500 florins, a considerable increase, even when inflation is taken into account.” (Burke, 2004, 74.)

²²⁵ Burke, 2004, 74.

²²⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 79v. (First cited but not transcribed by Blume, 1995, 83-84.):

March 31 1486

E adì concedettono a Domenicho di Bernardo Dei e sue frategli e altri che nominasse della chasa loro [] la chapella che a lato ala chapella de Luti e al uscio che va in sagrestia per pregio di fiorini 300

²²⁷ For the transcription of the document recording Della Palla’s complaint, see n. 141 of the present chapter.

Of all the chapel patrons at Santo Spirito, the Corbinelli family recorded the greatest number of tenures as *operai*, serving in nine of the ten known and recorded *Opere* between 1436 and 1477.²²⁸ The family also seems to have at some point taken over the rights of the chapel of St. Matthew in the old church, which had once been associated with the Biliotti family.²²⁹ In the fifteenth century, the fortunes of the family were clearly on the rise. Giovanni di Tommaso Corbinelli, one of the nine original *operai* of 1436, served ten times as the leader of the Wool Guild elite council, and was an acknowledged leader of the *Parte Guelfa*.²³⁰ He was also hand picked by Cosimo de' Medici for his 1434 *Balia*.²³¹ The Corbinelli family's political and economic success was clearly manifested in what is, without doubt, the most impressive chapel grouping within Santo Spirito - that is, four contiguous chapels on the western side of the western arm of the church. **(Fig. 18, Chapels 11-14)** Yet, surprisingly, next to nothing is known about how the family, or more likely, the network of families from the clan set about to acquire them. Burke claims that "three branches of the Corbinelli owned four chapels - including the Chapel of the Sacrament", but does not cite a source for her claim.²³² In her discussion of the altarpieces for the new church of Santo Spirito, Elena Capretti identifies three distinct chapel patrons from the Corbinelli family in Tommaso di Piero di Agnolo Corbinelli, Bartolomeo di Tommaso di Piero Corbinelli, and Matteo di Jacopo Corbinelli (patron of two chapels).²³³

An approximate chronological window for the concession of at least two of the four Corbinelli chapels can be deduced from the chronology of the sale of the chapels in their immediate physical proximity within the church. In the above-mentioned record of the chapel concession to Giovanni Lanfredini in 1482, the chapel is clearly described as being located between the Corbinelli and Ubertini chapels. This would therefore indicate that by 1482, the northern most of their four chapels was already in the hands of the Corbinelli family. **(Fig 18, Chapel 14)** In the document recording the sale of the Segni chapel in 1485, the chapel is described as being next to and above (moving from the western

²²⁸ For the tenures of Corbinelli family members as *operai*, see Appendix C.

²²⁹ Botto, 1931, 482.

²³⁰ Zervas, 1987, 295, 333.

²³¹ Kent, 1978, 226.

²³² Burke, 2004, 75.

²³³ E. Capretti, "La Pinacoteca Sacra", *La Chiesa e il Convento di Santo Spirito a Firenze*, Florence, 1996, 243-244.

crossing arm towards the façade) the Corbinelli chapel. As the Segni chapel is located adjacent to the southern most chapel owned by the Corbinelli, it is safe to presume that by 1485, the Corbinelli had already purchased rights to this chapel as well. **(Fig. 18, Chapel 11)**

A third chapel can be accounted for because of an extraordinary privilege afforded the Corbinelli family by the chapter and convent. On December 13, 1485, in a discussion as to where to position the tabernacle of the Blessed Sacrament, the honor fell upon the Corbinelli family:

The above-mentioned reverend prior asked each one privately if they were happy that the said blessed sacrament of the body of Christ was conceded and donated freely and given generously (*si largissi*) to the said generous and noble House of Corbinelli and so each one privately, out loud, responded “yes.”²³⁴

The chapel, which, to this day houses the tabernacle of the Blessed Sacrament, is the second chapel from the northern side of the transept. **(Fig. 18, Chapel 13)** The wording of the concession - *donassi* and *largissi* - echo of the words used when the *Opera* conceded Luca Pitti his chapel free of charge in 1459.²³⁵ One wonders if the concession of the honor of hosting the Blessed Sacrament in one’s family chapel normally involved monetary compensation. Regardless, the concession reveals that the rights to at least three of the four Corbinelli chapels had been conceded to the *consorteria* by the end of 1485. In light of the dominance of Corbinelli patronage in that side of the church, the rights over the fourth and unaccounted for chapel were most probably secured around this same time as well. **(Fig. 18, Chapel 12)**

By 1485, another of the crossing chapels had been conceded to another family - the Velluti. **(Fig. 18, Chapel 30)** Although there is no record of the actual sale of the chapel, another entry, dated June 22, 1485, in the later *Libro* records payment for a window in the Velluti chapel, which was to display the

²³⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 67, 138r. (First cited but not transcribed by Botto, 1931, 485. Although Botto erroneously cites the *folio* as 35 instead of 138r.): “...adomandato adimando el sopradetto reverendo priore ciascheduno privatamente se era contento che detto sactissimo scaramento del corpo di cristo si concedessi donassi deliberamente si largissi alla detta generosa e nobile casa de Corbinegli et così ciascheduno privatamente a voce viva rispose dessi...” For full transcription of the document, see Appendix A, Doc. 13.

²³⁵ For the concession of the Pitti chapel, see Section 2 of this chapter.

arms of family and was to be paid for by the *Opera*.²³⁶ This would, of course indicate that by this date, the Velluti family, a member of which had served as *provveditore* for the *Opera* in the 1450s, had already purchased the rights over their chapel.²³⁷ The record clearly indicates that the costs of the decoration would be “at the expense of the *Opera*.” Perhaps this was a gesture on the part of the *Opera* to repay the family for Guido Velluti’s previous service as *provveditore*. The only two crossing chapels for which no provenance is known are the Vettori and De’Rossi chapels. **(Fig. 18, Chapels 23 & 29)** Piero de’Rossi had served as *provveditore* for the *opera* during the 1470s while most of the nave was under construction, while the Vettori family joins the ranks of the Lanfredini and Segni as the only families that did not provide either *operai* or *provveditori* to own crossing chapels in Santo Spirito.²³⁸ Of the sixteen different families represented through chapel patronage in the crossing of the church, only these three had not participated in the administrative process of its realization.²³⁹ So, although the crossing chapels were not reserved exclusively for the families of *operai*, a clear hierarchy in favor of those families emerged. This was a hierarchy in which crossing chapel patrons were most usually *operai*, and *operai* were most usually members of the quarter’s social elite.

4.) Building History

Although a majority of the information contained within the *Libretto* concerns the bureaucratic and financial dealings of the *Opera* at Santo Spirito, the document also reveals vital information regarding the progress of construction between 1446 and 1461. In addition to specific mention of Brunelleschi’s successors at Santo Spirito, the *Libretto* also records the presence of stonecutters at the *Opera* meetings, sub-contracts with larger *cantieri* in Florence, and contracts made directly with the suppliers of building materials. A very limited amount of this information has been cited in past

²³⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 77r. (First cited but not transcribed by Burke, 2004, 77, n. 69): “E più deliberorono che si facesse fare una finestra di vetro alla chapella de’ Velluti chol’arma de’Velluti e dentro el santo del nome di chasa [] e tutto a spese di detta opera”

²³⁷ For Guido Velluti’s tenure as *provveditore*, see Section 1 of this chapter.

²³⁸ For Piero de’ Rossi’s role as *provveditore* at Santo Spirito, see Chapter III.

²³⁹ I do not include the Nerli family in this list of non-*operai* patrons because in 1493 Tanai Nerli would finally serve as one. See Appendix C “List of *Opere* at Santo Spirito.”

scholarship regarding Santo Spirito, but as a very summary means to fill the chronological void between the early [1428-1446] and late [1471-1481] periods of construction.²⁴⁰ Furthermore, some of the documentation has been entirely misinterpreted. This is due, in part, to the attempt on the part of certain scholars to use the information to hypothetically advance the state of construction at the time of Brunelleschi's death and to push the beginning of the project into an earlier phase of the architect's *oeuvre*. A proper and thorough reading of the information regarding the construction history of the church contained within the *Libretto* reveals crucial information regarding the middle period of construction [1446-1471] that has been almost entirely overlooked by previous scholars.

Building and Bureaucracy

The second entry in the *Libretto* is dated April 5, 1446. The *Opera*, with one of its members absent, convened to discuss the contracting for five columns for the church:

The above-mentioned *operai* etc., absent Tommaso, decide and allocate in favor of Giovanni di Pierone, stonecutter and associates, 90 gold florins to pay the said persons after they deliver to the *Opera* one column of five which they promised to complete and deliver according to the agreements and the promise they made, as appear in the notarial act; the money must come from that of the *Opera* of Santa Maria del Fiore in relation to an allocation made for the comprehensive amount of 150 florins.²⁴¹

In addition to indicating that columns were being ordered as early as 1446, the entry also indicates a financial relationship between the *Opere* of Santo Spirito and Florence Cathedral. The *Opera* of Santo Spirito had deposited 150 florins with the *Opera* of the Duomo, from which money would be systematically deducted to pay for materials. Since the building site of Florence

²⁴⁰ Those scholars who have cited entries from the *Libretto*: Botto, 1931, 493-497 (order for columns and nomination of Ciaccheri and Da Gaiole as *capomaestri*); Burke, 2004, 73-76 (entry concerning chapel sales); Fabriczy, 1907, 212 (three entries concerning order for columns and nomination of Ciaccheri as *capomaestro*); Luporini, 1964, 158 (two entries regarding order for columns).

²⁴¹ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 9v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6)

Cathedral was the largest in the city, very often smaller building projects could contract for their materials indirectly through the *Opera* of Santa Maria del Fiore.²⁴² That the cathedral *Opera* would act as a privileged middle-man between the *Opera* of Santo Spirito and the quarries is not surprising, as the *Opera* of the cathedral would be contracting for such enormous amounts of building materials, it would be of little bother to order an additional five columns for the *Opera* of Santo Spirito.

This first entry in the *Libretto* is also a significant example of historical misreading, having been mistranslated by nearly all scholars dealing with Santo Spirito as indicating the landmark moment when the first column arrived at the worksite.²⁴³ These scholars imagine that since the document is an order for five columns, after the arrival of the first column, at least four others would soon presumably be on their way. Such a scenario would suggest that ten days before Brunelleschi's death, construction had moved beyond the perimeter structure of the church and that workers had begun to elevate some of the interior supporting members, specifically in the form of columns. Freestanding architectural members would of course suggest a rather advanced building site around the time of the architect's death on April 15, 1446.

A proper reading of the entry instead presents a very different scenario. Luporini was the first scholar to correctly comprehend the meaning of the entry.²⁴⁴ The entry is the order for - not the delivery of - one of five columns. Furthermore, only after "one column of five" was delivered would the *Opera* make payment. Although the *cantiere* may have been ready to begin raising columns, there were no columns to raise; in fact, it would be quite some time before they could. A later entry in the *Libretto* dated January 1446[1447]

²⁴²Goldthwaite, 1980, 229. A similar relationship between Florentine *Opere* is described in various records of the *Opera del duomo*, see M. Haines, *Digital Archives of the Sources of the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, The Years of the Cupola* (<http://archivio.operaduomo.fi.it/cupola>); Keyword: "Santa Croce dell'Ordine di San Francesco": February 23, 1423[1424]- "Concession of fir lumber to the wardens of Santa Croce for their dormitory"; and again Keyword: "Opera di Santa Croce"- March 10, 1420[1421]- "Authorization to the administrator to sell stones to the Opera of Santa Croce to make an oculus"

²⁴³ In 1892, Fabriczy (Poma, 1979, 213.) was the first to mistakenly interpret this document as indicating the arrival of the first column to the building site. Subsequently, Botto (1931, 493), Battisti (1981, 197) and Saalman (1993, 363) would all concur in their own interpretations of this document.

²⁴⁴ Luporini, 1964, 158. At the year of publication of his work, Luporini was of course only correcting Fabriczy and Botto.

returns to the matter of the five columns ordered from the stonecutter, Giovanni Pieroni:

The above mentioned *operai*, absent Tommaso, allocate in favor of Giovanni di Pierone, stonecutter, provider of five columns of the said *Opera*, 40 florins as an installment, and that is when he will have delivered to the said *Opera* one of the said completed columns; payment will be made from the money and credit of the *Opera* of Santa Maria del Fiore belonging to the same *Opera*.²⁴⁵

In the nine-month interval between entries, the terms of the contract had changed. Originally, the *Opera* had agreed to pay 90 florins when one column was delivered. Now, instead, they would disburse an installment of only 40 florins when one “completed” column was delivered. Perhaps the change was made in the hope of creating greater incentive for the stonecutter to fulfill the contract. Nine months of waiting may have made the *Opera* more cautious in their financial dealings. All of the *operai* were highly successful merchants and businessmen, and in all likelihood they applied their business savvy to the construction business at hand. If the *Opera* were to deliver the entire amount of 90 florins to Pieroni when a single column arrived, how much time would the stonecutter require in order to complete the other four, if he already had full payment in hand. With the decision to simply pay an installment, the *Opera* was making it clear that the remaining payment or payments would be made only after the full consignment of columns.

Furthermore, what might seem a mere repetition of the original order of columns made on April 5, 1446, may instead be a less than subtle indicator of the impatience of the *Opera* regarding the tardy delivery of the columns. Timely delivery of building materials was essential to keeping the *cantiere* productive. Goldthwaite writes, “The chief function of the contract ... was to assure supply and delivery when it was important to keep workers on a regular schedule.”²⁴⁶ Now that the *Opera* had long-term public financing from the salt tax assured, it could guarantee stable employment for its workers. But if the materials required to move on to the next phase of construction were lacking, then funding or no funding, the building project would most likely come to a near stand still. Nine months after the original order of the presumably first five columns for the

²⁴⁵ ASF, *Carte Strozziene*, II, 93, 10v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

²⁴⁶ Goldthwaite, 1980, 158.

building site was made, that is, in January of 1446, the entry clearly indicates that not a single column had arrived to the worksite. Barring separate and unknown contracts with other stonecutters for other columns, it is highly probable that not a single column was standing at Santo Spirito nearly one year after Brunelleschi's death [April 15, 1446]. So if the first period of the building history had been characterized by lack of finances, the next would be characterized by lack of building materials!

Moreover, the *Opera* would have to wait for another eight years for the first column to finally be erected at the building site. A well-known *ricordanza* ("journal entry") dated May 23, 1454, describes the momentous event,

I record that on Thursday May 23, 1454, at 22 hours [about 6pm], the first column in a single piece was raised in the new church of Santo Spirito, that is the one which turns its back towards Borgo Tegolaio, and it is the column in the middle closest to the chapel, and I was present at that task, and so I can record it with my own hand. I, Bianco di Ghinozo di Cancellieri di Doffo, woolmaker in via Maggio²⁴⁷

Assuming that this first standing column is the same as the one that was ordered eight years earlier from Giovanni Pieroni, a certain degree of impatience on the part of the *Opera* is comprehensible. Adding to the apprehension of the *Opera* was the critical role of these five columns in the overall progress of the church. Although the aforementioned *ricordanza* has been cited in nearly all scholarship dealing with Santo Spirito, none of the authors have realized that the document also inadvertently supports the hypothesis that construction began in the eastern arm of the church. In his attempt to specify the "new" church of Santo Spirito as the one "which turns its back towards Borgo Tegolaio (*quella che volge le reni a Borgo Tegolaio*)", the author clearly thinks he is looking at the back of the new church, not, in fact, at the eastern transept arm. Since churches were traditionally built back to front (altar end to façade end), his supposition is logical. Benevolo is most probably correct in claiming that the column raised in 1454 was probably the central, freestanding column in the eastern arm of the church.²⁴⁸ (**Fig. 36**) So if the first column was raised in the part of the church facing Borgo Tegolaio, that is,

²⁴⁷ This document was first published in Richa, 1761, XI, 13.

²⁴⁸ Benevolo, 1968, 48.

the eastern arm, it can be safely presumed that construction must have begun in that area of the church. The remaining four columns would be progressively erected around the first, delineating the eastern side aisle from the eastern arm of the nave. **(Fig. 37)** Presuming the perimeter chapels in the eastern arm of the church were either already standing or at the very least begun by this point, since the sale of chapels would begin about a year later, once these five columns were standing, the majority of the first order of construction in the eastern arm of the church would have been realized. Moreover, a clear “sample” section of standing architecture was now available for use as a reference and full scale “model” for the realization of the two other identical arms of the crossing area of the church, and eventually the nave.

The psychological impact of the moment of completion of at least the first order of the eastern arm of the church on the entire *cantiere* must have been tremendous. By 1454, the building project had been lingering for at least fourteen years, and all the *Opera* probably had to show for it were crossing foundations, three completed perimeter chapels of the eastern arm of the church, and presumably some other chapels in the northern and western arms of the church that were under construction. Now, once these five columns were standing, “all” that was left to do was to eventually raise arches and side-aisle vaulting in order to finalize a significant section of the church. The *Opera* and all of its employees must have been emboldened. Years of bureaucratic struggle for funding and sporadic building were compensated with a glimpse of what their church would be once complete. That the remaining four columns were erected shortly after the first, and that the morale of the entire *cantiere* was subsequently greatly improved is clearly demonstrated by the fact that approximately one year later, in August 1455, the *Opera* would begin the sale of family chapels inside the church. The sale of realized or unrealized chapels indicates that enough of the church was now standing that the *Opera* confidently felt they had something to sell, and, more importantly, the patron felt he had something to buy.

A meeting of the *Opera* held on March 15, 1452 (two years before the first column was erected), supports this proposed building scenario. Although the business at hand was mainly bureaucratic, the presence of two

scarpellatori, or stonecutters, is recorded at the meeting.²⁴⁹ Chimenti di Giovanni and Martino di Zanobi di Andrea, both from the San Lorenzo neighborhood, are identified in the document as being present at the meeting. Although neither stonecutter is of any artistic importance, this is the first documented mention of any type of workman at Santo Spirito. Their presence at *Opera* meetings suggests that even if the notary present at the meetings was only recording bureaucratic, legal and financial matters, the *Opera* was also discussing construction; otherwise the presence of the stonecutters would have been unnecessary.

As Goldthwaite points out, the term *scarpellatore* is an ambiguous one in the Renaissance.²⁵⁰ It could refer to any type of stonemason, from the scappler to the sculptor. A *scarpellatore* would employ his skills specifically in the task of “cutting” stone, not in “laying” it. This was the job of the *muratore* - a brick or stone layer, or as Goldthwaite defines the role - a “waller.”²⁵¹ Very often, a *scarpellatore* would also have more administrative responsibilities, such as keeping employment records and serving as the *liaison* between the *Opera* and its workers. In the later building history of Santo Spirito, a *scarpellatore* name Salvi d’Andrea would actually serve as the *capomaestro* - or “master builder”- of the entire building project.²⁵² So although the presence of *scarpellatori* at an *Opera* meeting would be a perfectly normal event, their sudden appearance at *Opera* meetings at Santo Spirito would suggest that both building and bureaucracy were on the *Opera*’s agenda.

In fact, issues regarding construction would become increasingly frequent at *Opera* meetings. An entry in the *Libretto* dated April 3, 1459, discusses the contractual details concerning one Antonio di Manetti [Ciaccheri] (1405-1460), identified as a “woodcutter” and generally believed to be Brunelleschi’s successor at Santo Spirito.²⁵³ The entry indicates that Ciaccheri would be paid a salary of 8 lire per month for his entire contractual period of employment, including back pay from the previous November 1 [1458]. But the entry does not make specific mention of Ciaccheri’s responsibilities nor of the

²⁴⁹ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 12r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

²⁵⁰ Goldthwaite, 1980, XIV-XV.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² For Salvi d’Andrea’s role as *capomaestro*, see Chapter III, 2.

²⁵³ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 13v. (Appendix A, doc. 6.) This entry was first published in G. Gaye, 1839, 170, although Gaye indicates Ciaccheri’s salary as 6 lire per month, as opposed to 8 lire per month as indicated in the document. .

word *capomaestro*, as it would for Ciaccheri's successors. In addition to having previously realized several wooden models for Brunelleschi (perhaps even the model for Santo Spirito), Antonio di Manetti Ciaccheri was also the architect's successor at various other projects throughout Florence. Seven years earlier, in August of 1452, Ciaccheri was elected *capomaestro* of the cupola and lantern projects at Florence cathedral.²⁵⁴ A well-known letter dated May 1, 1457, written by Giovanni da Gaiole, a fellow woodcutter and later *capomaestro* at Santo Spirito, to Giovanni de' Medici describes Ciaccheri in some sort of supervisory role at San Lorenzo at the time.²⁵⁵ Suddenly Ciaccheri had been catapulted from the rank of "model maker" to *capomaestro* of three of the most important building projects of Renaissance Florence. Such an evolution should not be surprising. He had known and worked closely with Brunelleschi, and having realized the architect's wooden models, he had an unparalleled knowledge of Brunelleschi's intentions and building methods.

But if twelve years passed between Brunelleschi's death in 1446 and the official nomination of his successor in 1458, what exactly was going on (if anything) at the *cantiere* during that time? It is of course entirely possible that others, whose names are lost to history, directed construction during this period. Or, instead, that such a scenario suggests significant stagnation in the construction of the church in this interim period. In an attempt to create a more immediate continuity between Brunelleschi and Ciaccheri, Fabriczy suggested that the April 1459 nomination of Ciaccheri was actually a "confirmation" of an appointment made as early as 1454, when the first column was raised at the building site.²⁵⁶ Once the building materials necessary for the continuation of the building project had arrived, they would of course need to be assembled under the direction of someone familiar with Brunelleschi's *modus operandi*. This proposed chronology would also prolong Ciaccheri's tenure as *capomaestro* from two years (if we rely on the documentation) to six years. The

²⁵⁴ For Ciaccheri's election as *capomaestro* of the lantern and cupola at Florence cathedral, see F. Borsi, G. Morolli, F. Quinterio, *Brunelleschiani*, Rome, 1979, 267.

²⁵⁵ M. Haines, "Brunelleschi and Bureaucracy: The Tradition of Public Patronage at the Florentine Cathedral", *I Tatti Studies*, Florence, 1989, 368. For Manetti Ciaccheri's involvement with the *Sacrestia della Messe* in Florence Cathedral, see M. Haines, *La Sacrestia delle Messe del Duomo di Firenze*, Firenze, 1983, 64.

²⁵⁶ Fabriczy (Poma), 1979, 213.

actual motivation behind Fabriczy's hypothesis was to establish Ciaccheri as the "culprit" who deviated from Brunelleschi's original intentions at Santo Spirito, or as Antonio Manetti (the biographer) describes it - "the errors made and consented to by others."²⁵⁷ In fact, Fabriczy explicitly states that it would be difficult to justify the criticism of Brunelleschi's biographers towards Ciaccheri if the woodcutter's tenure had lasted for only two years, although Manetti (the biographer) does not specifically identify Ciaccheri as the responsible architect, nor does Fabriczy indicate just exactly the "error" for which Ciaccheri was responsible.²⁵⁸

The incrimination of Ciaccheri at Santo Spirito may also indirectly be the result of the aforementioned letter by Giovanni da Gaiole of 1457. Although Da Gaiole is criticizing Ciaccheri's work for the crossing and cupola at San Lorenzo, his prosaic description of Brunelleschi's model for Santo Spirito rather acutely suggests what was lost at San Lorenzo. Da Gaiole wrote, "... it would cost less to disassemble and reconstruct that tribune in Filippo's [Brunelleschi] way, which is light, strong, illuminated and of proportion, than to follow this incorrectness."²⁵⁹ The implication being that if the same man who was responsible for the "incorrectness" at San Lorenzo was now putting his talents to work at Santo Spirito, the woeful results would only be repeated.²⁶⁰

Da Gaiole's critical remarks combined with the biographers' portentous words concerning subsequent and erroneous variations from Brunelleschi's original design for the church permeate the literature concerning Santo Spirito.

²⁵⁷ Manetti (Saalman), 126. Vasari, who was largely inspired by Manetti, reasserts the deviations from Brunelleschi's original plans, but like Manetti does not identify the person responsible: "E nel vero, se non fusse stato dalla maledizione di coloro che sempre, per parere d'intendere più che gli altri, guastano i principi belli delle cose, sarebbe questo oggi il più perfetto tempio della cristianità..." (Vasari (Milanesi), 1878, 381.)

²⁵⁸ Fabriczy (Poma), 1979, 213. Fabriczy actually indicates a one-year term from 1459-1460 for Ciaccheri. I have corrected this in my text to a two-year term, 1458-1460, as Ciaccheri served at Santo Spirito until his death on November 8, 1460. Inspired by Manetti's narrative, Vasari also criticizes the changes made after Brunelleschi's death.

²⁵⁹ Gaye, 1839, I, 167-169.

²⁶⁰ Botto (1931, 498-499) mistakenly interprets Da Gaiole's letter as indicating that Ciaccheri was already working in a supervisory role at Santo Spirito by 1457, when, in fact, Da Gaiole is actually criticizing Ciaccheri's work at San Lorenzo, based on the model Brunelleschi left behind at Santo Spirito. For Ciaccheri's role at San Lorenzo, see G. Morolli, 1993, 59-64.

Scholars generally agree on three main possible variations from Brunelleschi's original design:

- 1) the enclosing of an undulating perimetral wall, defined on its exterior by extruding semi-circular chapels, with a rectilinear wall
- 2) the possibility of barrel vaults over the nave and transepts, instead of the present flat wooden ceiling
- 3) the possibility of a four-door and four extruding chapel form solution for the façade, instead of the flat three-door façade that we see today.

Considering the time period during which Ciaccheri was involved at Santo Spirito, he could only perhaps have been responsible for one of these changes – that is the construction of the enclosing rectilinear wall around or in substitution for the undulating wall defined by the projecting semi-circular chapels. The realization of vaults or a façade, typically the final components in church construction, could not have been even remotely on the mind of Ciaccheri considering the first column of the church was raised in 1454, only five years before his official appointment. Construction could not have progressed so far along in such a short time as to merit the *capomaestro's* immediate consideration concerning vaulting and the facade.

In his “Filippo Brunelleschi: Capital Studies”, Saalman supports the attribution of the enclosing wall to Ciaccheri:

Antonio Manetti [Ciaccheri] has been almost universally burdened with the onus of having altered Brunelleschi's inspiration by the addition of the exterior walls around the chapels. Recent opinion has been that Manetti must be responsible because there was nothing else to keep him busy during the time he is reported working at Santo Spirito.²⁶¹

Likewise, Isabelle Hyman in her “Towards Rescuing the Lost Reputation of Antonio di Manetti Ciaccheri” paradoxically attributes the construction of the mantling wall to Ciaccheri, “while there is no definitive evidence that this drastic modification was executed by Ciaccheri, it is unlikely that anyone other than he was responsible for it.”²⁶²

The documentary evidence presented in this chapter instead suggest that the very limited state of construction during his tenure would have made

²⁶¹ Saalman, 1958, 132.

²⁶² I. Hyman, “Towards Rescuing the Lost Reputation of Antonio di Manetti Ciaccheri”, *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, Florence, 1978, 271.

even the consideration of an enclosing wall highly unlikely and would therefore seem to exonerate Ciaccheri from any responsibility for its construction. Construction had simply not progressed far enough along for such a decision to be pertinent. In fact, the archival evidence regarding the later construction history of the church, which will be discussed in the next chapter) definitively confirms that the building of the mantling wall occurred at a later phase of construction and not during Ciaccheri's tenure as *capomaestro*.²⁶³ Most likely, the choice of Ciaccheri as Brunelleschi's successor at Santo Spirito was made in the hopes that the woodcutter would faithfully follow Brunelleschi's model, not deviate from it.

Four months after Ciaccheri's death on November 8, 1460, his successor was named at Santo Spirito. On February 3, 1460 [1461], Giovanni di Domenico da Gaiole (1408- 1479), known as "il Grasso", was appointed as the new *capomaestro* at Santo Spirito.²⁶⁴ His salary is not indicated, but was to be decided by two *operai* - Bernardo Antinori and Giannozzo Biliotti. Ironically, this is the same Giovanni di Domenico di Gaiole who was responsible for criticizing the building methods of Antonio Manetti Ciaccheri at San Lorenzo in the letter cited earlier. Like Ciaccheri, Da Gaiole was a woodcutter turned architect, and closely associated with construction at Santa Maria del Fiore; and like his predecessor at Santo Spirito, nothing is known regarding his exact responsibilities and/or interventions at the *cantiere*.²⁶⁵ Most of the extant documentation regarding Da Gaiole's general artistic activity describes him producing mainly wooden models and choir stalls.²⁶¹

Only one month later, on March 3, 1460[1461], an entry in the *Libretto* identifies Giuliano di Sandrino, another woodworker, as "*capomaestro* of the said *Opera*."²⁶⁶ His salary was also to be defined by the same two *operai*. It appears that the two *capomaestri* were working simultaneously at Santo Spirito. Considering Da Gaiole would reappear in the later documentation regarding construction (although not as *capomaestro*), it appears that he had the more

²⁶³ For the decision to construct the mantling wall, see Chapter III, 2.

²⁶⁴ ASF, *Carte Stroziane II*, 93, 15v. In the same record, Paolo di Giovanni is appointed as "...*maestro* for the restoration of the roofs of the convent of Santo Spirito... for a salary of 48 *lire piccioli*."

²⁶⁵ For Giovanni di Domenico da Gaiole, see Borsi, Morolli, Quinterio, 1979, 277-287.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ ASF, *Carte Stroziane II*, 93, 15r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

permanent tenure and presumably higher rank.²⁶⁷ It was not unheard of for two men to oversee a building project in Florence. For his entire sixteen-year tenure at the Florence cathedral dome project, Brunelleschi's was regarded as one of the several "officials" responsible for the dome's realization.²⁶⁸ Yet, at Santo Spirito, multiple building directors with similar professional backgrounds may have seemed superfluous, unless each was hired for a specific task.

It appears that Giuliano di Sandrino was appointed because of a certain skill that he had demonstrated at Florence Cathedral, that is, "to make that which he made for the *succhielli* in the *Opera* of Santa Reparata."²⁶⁹ But what exactly are the *succhielli* referred to in the document? The common definition of a "succhiello" is a "gimlet" or "hand drill" consisting of a wooden handle and a helical shaped and pointed metal shaft.²⁷⁰ Such a tool would be commonly used for drilling into both stone and wood. But it seems highly unlikely that Di Sandrino was chosen for such a prestigious position simply based on his ability to manage a tool common to any *scarpellatore* or carpenter. It must have been a much more significant talent that motivated the *Opera* to hire him. A talent that reveals much about the state of construction around the time of Sandrino's tenure as *capomaestro* of Santo Spirito in 1460.

In his late eighteenth-century Italian translation of Vitruvius' *De Re Aedificatoria*, Bernardo Galiani uses the word "succhiello" to define a piece of military architecture described in Chapter IX of Book X. The translation reads

...it was made, as was normally made for catapults and ballistae, the machine [was] like a tortoise, and in the middle a narrow canal formed by a plank fifty cubits long, and one cubit high. Through it passed an axis in peritrochio: at the left and right ends of which there were two slots, through which moved a beam with a metal point that was in the canal.²⁷¹

²⁶⁷ First cited in Botto, 1931, 500, n. 3

²⁶⁸ Haines, 1989, 274.

²⁶⁹ ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 15r. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

²⁷⁰ www.collinsdictionary.com

²⁷¹ B. Galiani, *L'Architettura di Marco Vitruvio Pollione*, Naples, 1790, 249: "...faceva, come suol farsi nelle catapulte e nelle baliste, la macchina come una testuggine, e in mezzo un canale retto da pilastri lungo cubiti 50, e alto uno, e in esso si situava a traverso un peritrochio: in fronte a destra e a sinistra erano due taglie, per mezzo delle quali si muoveva un trave colla punta ferrata, che era in quel canale."

The “succhiello” machine was allegedly used to drill holes through enemy walls.²⁷² The mechanics of the device were quite simple. Resembling a catapult or ballistae, and presumably quite large in scale, a wooden beam with a sharp metal point would be manually rotated within a long wooden canal and placed against the surface that needed to be perforated.

The mechanics of Vitruvius’ *succhiello* sound remarkably similar to those employed by the “load positioner”, or *chastello*, invented and employed by Brunelleschi for the realization of the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore. (**Fig. 38**) In their *Brunelleschi: Studies of his Technology and Inventions*, Frank Prager and Gustina Scaglia describe the mechanism of the load positioner thus:

Operators then turn the horizontal screws to shift the load into position above its ultimate place and correspondingly to adjust the counterweight. Then they manipulate the threaded nut engaging the vertical screw to lower the load into place²⁷³

These threaded screws also played a prominent role in Brunelleschi’s other great lifting device - the ox hoist, or *edificio di buoi*. Normally referred to as *viti* in the documentation regarding the construction of the cupola, the screws are also referred to as *succhielli*. On August 18, 1432, a Nani d’Elero was given 13 soldi in order to pay a certain Checho who is identified as a *suchielinaio* at Florence cathedral and was responsible for “repairing two large *succhielli* belonging the opera.”²⁷⁴ On September 1 of the same year, Francesco di Jacopo, also referred to as a *suchellinario*, and most probably the same man, was paid 2 lire “for three *succhielli* purchased from him for the ox hoist (*edificio de buoi*).”²⁷⁵

So if the *succhielli* mentioned in the *Libretto* entry regarding Di Sandrino’s appointment as *capomaestro* are in fact the threaded screws employed in the lifting devices at Florence cathedral, it most probably suggests that the *Opera*’s motivation in hiring him at Santo Spirito was Di Sandrino’s

²⁷² In other translations the word “trivella” is used instead of “succhiello.”

²⁷³ F. Prager and G. Scaglia, *Brunelleschi: Studies of his Technology and Inventions*, Cambridge, 1970, 78. See also P. Galluzzi, *La Mente di Leonardo: Nel laboratorio del Genio Universale*, Florence, 2006, 176.

²⁷⁴ M. Haines, *Digital Archives*, Keyword: “succhielli.” To make matters even more complicated, on Nov. 21, 1464, a man named Tommaso di Jacopo Suchielli was made *capomaestro* of the lantern and cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore. (C. Guasti, *La Cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore*, Florence, 1857, 64.)

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

experience with these devices. Moreover, Di Sandrino would have been a logical choice to replace Ciaccheri who also had a professional history with these lifting devices. Records from the Opera del Duomo show that Antonio di Manetti Ciaccheri was also in part responsible for work on Brunelleschi's ox hoist (*'dificio de' buoi'*), as well as providing two "screws" for the *chastello* "mounted on the walls" of the church.²⁷⁶ Therefore Ciaccheri's own appointment was likely motivated not only by his familiarity with Brunelleschi's "intentions" as an architect, but also with Brunelleschi's great lifting machines. The presence of similar lifting devices at Santo Spirito, albeit not as grand in scale as those at Santa Maria del Fiore, would indicate that architectural elements were being lifted and positioned at significant heights perhaps as early as November 1458 when Ciaccheri was first appointed. This would further absolve Ciaccheri of the responsibility of building the enclosing wall "because there was nothing else to keep him busy" (as Saalman claimed), because he would have been quite occupied in raising the crossing elements in at least part of the church.²⁷⁷ Hence, by 1460, it is reasonable to believe that the second order of architecture was being raised in at least the eastern arm of the church. Impost blocks, arches, spandrels and entablatures were all most probably being set into position.

Furthermore, while Di Sandrino was directing the lifting of materials, Da Gaiole was most probably responsible for the more traditional tasks of the woodworker at a building site - setting the wooden forms (centering) upon which the masonry was set or arranging and building wooden scaffolding. Considering their expertise with wood and history of service at Santa Maria del Fiore contemporaneously with Ciaccheri, Da Gaiole and Di Sandrino's appointments as successors to Ciaccheri at Santo Spirito appear logical.²⁷⁸ The *Opera* did not need another architect, but rather experts in the handling of lifting devices and centering structures that characterized the nature of the construction that was taking place at the time. Brunelleschi had left behind

²⁷⁶ C. Guasti, 1857, 104.

²⁷⁷ Saalman, 1958, 132.

²⁷⁸ This would not be the only instance in which a tandem of *capomaestri* was employed at Santo Spirito. Giovanni da Mariano, known as *Lo Scorbacchio*, is identified as the later *capomaestro* of the *Opera*, while Salvi d'Andrea is simultaneously identified as the *maestro dello scarpello*. For their roles at Santo Spirito, see Chap. III, 2.

specifications for the architectural elements within the church, and his successors would have been responsible for their *mise en place*.²⁷⁹

The last entry in the *Libretto*, dated November 8, 1461, suggests that construction may finally have been proceeding at a sustained pace. Perhaps the repeated threats made by the *Opera* to the chapel patrons had finally resulted in the delivery of the much needed private funding. Worried that the up and coming Christmas season would again slow down the project because of worker absenteeism, the *Opera* issued a threat to the workers as well: "In the same manner, [the *opera*] deliberate that any employees of the said *Opera* that do not present [themselves] for the entire month of December to the said *operai* should consider themselves dismissed."²⁸⁰ Both patrons and workers alike were now under the whip of the *Opera*.

Chapels and Construction

The most significant information contained in the *Libretto* concerning the actual construction history of the church is revealed by the chapel sales. Both the order in which the chapels were sold and their precise locations within the church provide a rather accurate meter by which to quantify the state of construction by 1460. The mere fact that eleven of the first twelve chapels that were sold are located in the crossing of Santo Spirito is a clear indication that a majority, if not all, of the construction during the first two decades of the project was concentrated in this area. Furthermore, if standing architecture, in the form of completed or largely completed chapels, columns, arches, and perhaps, given the presence of lifting devices at the work site, a limited quantity of vaulting, was the stimulus that set chapel sales into motion in 1455, then it is logical that those chapels were sold in the only area where all of this architecture was actually standing - that is, in the crossing.

²⁷⁹ Quinterio supports such a theory as to the intentions of the *Opera* in hiring these two *capomaestri*. Although, since the documentary information concerning Da Sandrino presented in this text was not available to him, his discussion focuses solely on Da Gaiuole: "...il legnaiuolo Giovanni di Domenico da Gaiole, all'epoca not come esecutore di apparati lignei, ma allo stato delle notizie giunte a noi, totalmente digiuno di operazioni di cantiere, a meno di non ritenere fra i suoi impegni la cura dei marchinegni per erigere ponteggi..." (Quinterio, "Il Cantiere...", 1996, 92.)

²⁸⁰ ASF, *Carte Stroziane II*, 93, 15v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

If we combine the chapel types described by Leonardo Benevolo (**Table 5**), and discussed in the previous chapter, with the record of chapel sales between 1455 and 1460 (**Table 6**), what emerges is a very clear picture of the progression of construction at Santo Spirito up to the year 1460.

Table 8:

Chapel Owners and Chapel Types in 1460

Family	Date Sold	Location	Type
Frescobaldi (2)	August 10, 1455	Northern arm	Both "B"
Nerli	August 10, 1455	Eastern arm	"A"
Commune	April 3, 1459	Northern arm	NA (B/C?)
Pitti	April 3, 1459	Northern arm	NA (B/C?)
Biliotti	April 3, 1459	Northern arm	"C"
Ubertini	April 3, 1459	Western arm	"B"
Nasi	April 3, 1459	Eastern arm	"A"
Capponi	April 3, 1459	Eastern arm	"C"
Antinori	August 13, 1460	Northern arm	"B"
Bardi	August 13, 1460	Northern arm	"B"
Della Palla	August 13, 1460	Eastern nave	NA (B/C?)

The likely order in which the chapel types were actually constructed was "A" (semi-circular chapels with external moldings), "B" (semi-circular chapels without external moldings) and then "C" (semi-circular base which morphs into polygonal chapel). It should be remembered that the semi-circular chapels were intended to delineate an undulating exterior perimetral wall for the entire church. That all three chapel types are semi-circular at their base suggests that they were all built on a uniform foundation that delineated most of the crossing area and that was most probably laid in the initial phase of construction between 1440 and 1446. The three adjacent type "A" chapels, which best express Brunelleschi's original intention of outward projecting and ornamented semi-circular chapels, are all located in the eastern arm of the church. (**Fig. 31**) These are in all probability the chapels erected during Brunelleschi's lifetime, as described by Antonio di Tuccio Manetti (the biographer).²⁸¹ Three standing and finished chapels could have, of course, served as templates for the remaining thirty-seven unrealized chapels. Not surprisingly, Tanai Nerli, one of the two earliest patrons to purchase a chapel, would choose one of these as his own, and so too would the members of the Nasi family several years later.

²⁸¹ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 126.

The fourteen type “B” chapels instead run along almost the entire western half of the church. **(Fig. 31)** They are nearly identical to the type “A” chapels, with the major exception of lacking external ornamentation. Although this may be interpreted as signaling the abandonment of Brunelleschi’s intention for the chapels to be visible from the exterior, it may instead simply be the chapels’ contiguity to the convent and adjacent private property that explains their bare exteriors. **(Fig. 1)** They would still project outward into space. But why dress chapels that could not be visible from the exterior? In all probability, after the construction of the three eastern type “A” chapels, work shifted to the western side of the church and the type “B” chapels between 1446 and 1454. The lack of standing interior architectural elements such as columns until 1454 would have logically limited construction to the perimeter chapels.

Perhaps the sudden shift to the western side of the church can be explained by the fact that Stoldo Frescobaldi owned the private property flanking this side of the church. **(Fig. 28)** His influence on the *Opera* as both founder and near-permanent member, as well as his early “contribution” to the project may have been the driving factor to focus construction on “his” side of the church, where he may have already envisioned his prized family chapels. The two contiguous chapels that he purchased in 1455 (both type “B” chapels) are both located on the western side of church, and were immediately adjacent to his property. Several centuries later, the Frescobaldi palace itself would encroach upon and eventually adjoin the outer walls of his chapels, allowing an exclusive viewing window, called the *coretto* or “little choir”, which looks from the palace directly into the crossing of the church.²⁸² **(Fig. 19)**

In addition to the Frescobaldi chapels, the Ubertini, Antinori and Bardi chapels, all of which were sold between 1459 and 1460, fall into the “B” type category. Although the Bardi and Ubertini chapels respectively flank the two Frescobaldi chapels, the Antinori chapel is conspicuously isolated from other chapels chosen by this first wave of patrons. **(Fig. 33, Chapel 9)** Situated at the corner of the western arm and nave of the church, the relatively remote position of the Antinori chapel in relation to the other eleven chapels first assigned at the church clearly indicates the minimal point to which chapel

²⁸²Frescobaldi and Solinas claim, without references, that the *coretto* was built in the fifteenth century and inspired the private viewing space installed by the Medici in the church of Santissima Annunziata. See Frescobaldi and Salinas, 2004, 100.

construction had extended on the western side of the church by the time the chapel was sold in 1460.

The type “C” chapel can also be situated in a very specific chronology of construction. These chapels are semi-circular in shape at their base, but morph into a polygonal shape at a height of three meters, and are located at the northeastern and southeastern corners of the crossing.²⁸³ **(Fig. 31)** Semi-circular bases indicate that the chapels were built onto the same foundations as the other chapel types and suggest that they were at least begun around the same time. Yet, the eventual transformation of the chapel from semi-circular to polygonal in shape suggests that they were completed in a distinct and later period - most likely after the decision was made to enclose the chapels within a flat exterior wall. A polygonal form for the chapels would facilitate their enclosure within a rectilinear wall. The interruption in the realization of these chapels may have been caused by the arrival of the freestanding architectural elements at the *cantiere* beginning in 1454. That work was hypothetically interrupted on the type “C” chapels belonging to the Biliotti and Capponi families and completed at a later date is confirmed by the archival information presented in the next chapter.²⁸⁴ After focusing its activity for nearly a decade on the laying of foundations and the raising of chapel walls, the *cantiere* could finally progress to raising the freestanding architectural members that articulate the aisles of the crossing. The workers could always return later to, what was by then, the rather mundane task of completing a few chapel walls. Considering that the type “C” chapels were already constructed to a height of three meters and that all the chapels around them were fully completed, patrons must have felt confident about their imminent completion. The Biliotti and Capponi chapels are of the type “C” category.

Of the twelve chapels sold by 1460, three do not fall into any of the above-mentioned categories only because the Pitti chapel and the chapel designated to bear the arms of the commune were inaccessible to Benevolo for examination. Considering that the chapel of the commune was described as the *cappella principale* of the church, it is logical to presume that it was completed relatively early in the project. Its proximity to the string of “B”

²⁸³ Benevolo, 1968, 46. Although Benevolo was only able to inspect the base of one of the type “C” chapels discovering a semi-circular base, he believes the other “C” chapels share the same design. I concur with his theory.

²⁸⁴ For the later completion of the Biliotti chapel, see Chap. III, 2.

chapels, beginning with the Bardi chapel and extending into the western side of the nave would most likely signify it is of the same type. In turn, the proximity of the Pitti chapel to the chapel of the commune would suggest the same. They were, after all, the twin central chapels in the northern arm (*testata*) of the church, and therefore probably built contemporaneously.

The Della Palla family chapel is instead the first chapel outside of the crossing area on the eastern side of the nave, and was also inaccessible to Benevolo for examination. **(Fig. 33, Chapel 33)** Like the Antinori chapel, the rather remote location of the Della Palla chapel, in relation to the other chapels sold in this first campaign, would suggest a rather comprehensive extension of at least partially completed chapels in the crossing area reaching as far as into the nave. The Della Palla chapel was also the last chapel sold in this first campaign of chapel concessions. This forced exclusion of the Della Palla from the crossing inadvertently reveals that construction had, even if minimally, reached into the nave on the eastern side of the church as well, and represents a very important piece of a building puzzle, which, although far from complete, is beginning to take a very decipherable form.

The records of the *Libretto* end in 1461. The events of the following decade are almost entirely unknown. A previously unpublished document from the records of the convent demonstrates that the *Opera* was indeed active during this period. On October 25, 1468, the reverend prior of Santo Spirito reminded the friars that, “it was time to appoint new *operai*... for the church because the term of the old *operai* terminated in March 1468.”²⁸⁵ The five new *operai* nominated were

Antonio di Lorenzo Ridolfi
Stoldo di Lionardo Frescobaldi
Lorenzo di Parigi Corbinelli
Jacopo di Piero Guicciardini
Piero di Lotuzo Nasi

In relation to the last documented *Opera* of May 1457, all five members were new. Yet the family names are those of the earliest *operai* at Santo Spirito. In fact, Stoldo Frescobaldi had served as an *operai* thirty years earlier in 1438. Lorenzo Corbinelli had served sixteen years earlier in 1452. Likewise, Antonio Ridolfi and Piero Nasi were relatives of the original *operai* of 1436.

²⁸⁵ ASF, CRS, 122, 67, 103v. (Appendix A, Doc. 10.)

It seems that, for some reason, the old was new again at Santo Spirito.

These same five *operai* were confirmed in another document from the convent records dated July 2, 1470, which also indicates an accurate termination date for their term in February of 1472.²⁸⁶ It appears that the priority of the *operai* had not changed over almost four decades. Money was clearly still the matter at hand. The *operai* met together to discuss the terms of the will of Pietro Velluti, a former *provveditore* at Santo Spirito, written in 1411. Velluti had promised

... 1000 florins to build a chapel in the new church... if it was the case that his six male heirs were or remained without legitimate natural sons which situation did realize itself with the death of Maso son of the said Piero Velluti. And the convent appoints as its procurator Piero di Bartolomeo de' Rossi to sue and do that which is necessary to expedite the will...²⁸⁷

Although there is no record of a concession of a chapel to the Velluti family, the will of Piero (Velluti) was most probably executed according to his intentions, as the Velluti chapel is the first chapel on the right in the eastern arm of the church. **(Fig. 18, Chapel 30)** The sum left by Velluti was of course twice the standard price of a chapel inside the church, which must have made the execution of the will even more pressing. Curiously, the notary chosen by the convent to execute the will, Piero de' Rossi, was a future *provveditore* of the *Opera* and the patron of the chapel adjoining the Velluti chapel.

The meeting of the *Opera* in 1470 in order to discuss Velluti's will is the last known documented event from this middle period of construction, which was the period about which very little was previously known. Yet, the information contained in the *Libretto* and discussed here reveal that construction had progressed significantly by that date. All of the crossing chapels were at the very least under construction, and columns were being erected as early as 1454. The presence of lifting machines may also indicate that construction had advanced into the second order of architecture in this area as well. So in the twenty-five-year aftermath of Brunelleschi's death, it seems that the architect had left enough indicators behind to realize a rather significant portion of the crossing area of the church. Evidence of this advanced state of

²⁸⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 67, 106r. First cited by Botto, 1931, 479.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

completion of the crossing is in fact provided in the subsequent chapter where evidence will be presented to show how construction advanced quite rapidly into the nave of the church.

Chapter III

Finances, the *Cantiere* and “...the errors made and consented to by others” [1471-1487]

Whereas the early [1440-1446] and middle [1446-1471] periods of the construction history of Santo Spirito are scarcely documented, the archival information concerning the third and final period of construction [1471-1487] is abundant. Contained almost entirely in two chronologically overlapping record books of the finances and deliberations of the *Opera*, the documents reveal a bustling and productive *cantiere*, and an *Opera* that was finally more occupied with building than with finances.¹ Unlike the *Libretto* discussed in the previous chapter that contained information related almost exclusively to the bureaucratic and financial dealings of the *Opera*, these later record books instead focus on the *cantiere* and the business of building. The information contained therein not only records the detailed and systematic progression of construction in its final years, but also sheds significant light on just exactly what was happening during the previous and less documented periods of construction. Moreover, these later archival sources confirm much of the hypothetical construction history proposed in the previous chapter.

Astonishingly, the *Libro dei Debitori e Creditori* that records the nearly daily income, expenses and building activity at Santo Spirito between 1471[1472] and 1481 has been almost entirely ignored by scholars.²

¹ The two archival sources are ASF, CRS, 122, 127 (*Libro dei Debitori e Creditori dal 1471-1481*) and ASF, CRS, 122, 128 (*Libro dei Debitori e Creditori dal 1477-1496*).

² Fabriczy (1907, 52) includes only five entries from this *Libro*; Botto, (1931, 500, n. 3) simply cites the archival source in a summary nomination of notable employees at the *cantiere*; Luporini (1964, 236, doc.'s 8, 9, 10, 11, 12) includes the same entries as Fabriczy although he erroneously annotated the folio numbers; Goldthwaite (1980, 164) summarizes some of the general information contained in the *Libro* and describes its contents, almost as if earmarking it for future scholars, as such: “The complexity of the organization of the fabric workshop at Santo Spirito emerges in the rich detail of the surviving account for miscellaneous expenses, which included payments for everything from the clock to mark worker’s time in the job and the lock and keys to secure their workshop to the soap needed to oil down finished stone.” Quinterio (in F. Quinterio, “Note sul cantiere quattrocentesco: Le fabbriche tardo Brunelleschiane”, *Filippo Brunelleschi: La Sua Opera e il Suo Tempo*, Firenze, 1980, 649) limits his analyses of the *Libro* to the average salaries of

Considering the extraordinary amount of information contained within this archival record regarding an intense and relatively short period of construction, the omission of this archival source represents a significant *lapsus* in the construction history of the church. This omission may in part be the result of the tendency of scholars to focus almost exclusively on the earlier Brunelleschian period of construction, and subsequently on the final years of the project in order to establish a clear relationship between the original architectural design and its subsequent realization. Only when a building is finalized can an assessment be made regarding its fidelity to or deviation from its original design.³ This relationship between design and actualization is particularly critical when the original architect of a structure is of the caliber of Filippo Brunelleschi. It is therefore not surprising that most scholarship has focused exclusively on the information contained within the later abovementioned *Libro dei Debitori e Creditori* that records the final years of the construction history of the church between the years 1477 and 1496, and which addresses the most noteworthy and controversial final aspects of construction such as the dome, façade and vaulting solutions.⁴

What is lost in the attempt of only trying to reconcile the original artistic conception of a building with its final physical reality is the day-to-day bureaucratic and building activity that progressively and ultimately decides the appearance of a church - regardless of the importance of the architect. The shadow of Brunelleschi's architectural genius looms over all of his building projects, but considering how few of these projects were completed during his lifetime, it was the architectural inheritance that the architect left behind that would ultimately define his buildings.⁵ In fifteenth-century Florence, Brunelleschi's inheritance was left to an extraordinarily well-developed and infrastructured communal building tradition; and if it was the architect who gave a building its artistic identity, it was this building tradition that ultimately provided

scarpellatori and *manovali* for just the individual years of 1477 and 1482. With the exception of these scholarly sources, all of the archival information presented in this chapter is unpublished.

³ For further discussion of the enduring architectural identities of buildings, see Trachtenberg, 2010, 127-134 and 261-269.

⁴ These issues are discussed in Section 2 of this chapter.

⁵ For a survey of the relationship between Brunelleschi and the realization of his major projects, see Saalman, 1993.

a socio-historical identity for the building.⁶ The institution of the *Opera*, whose bureaucratic and financial dealings were discussed in the previous chapter, defined a significant part of this building tradition, although it was ultimately the *cantiere* that would realize the church. Although a *cantiere* literally means the “work site” of a building project, it is more generally understood to include all those workers, materials and suppliers of materials, supervisory figures and mechanical means that contribute to the realization of a building. Furthermore, if it was the *Opera* that acted as a *liaison* between the communal institutions and the *quartiere*, then the *cantiere*, in all of its actions and decisions, acted as an intermediary between the architect (or his intentions) and the *Opera*.⁷

The present chapter will address the role and identity of the *cantiere* of Santo Spirito. All of the documentary information discussed in this chapter is recorded in the aforementioned and previously overlooked archival documentation in the *Libro dei Debitori e Creditori* from 1471 to 1481.⁸ By identifying the names, professions and the quantity of workers at the building site, not only does a particularly accurate meter by which to measure the progress of construction emerge, but, so too does an extraordinary case study of fifteenth-century Florentine *cantieri*.⁹ Brunelleschi’s successors, identified as *capomaestri*, were the directors of the *cantiere*, and with the approval of the *Opera*, would be responsible for transforming the architect’s intentions into reality. Under the direction of the *capomaestro*, a panoply of workers and suppliers with titles such as *scarpellatore* [stonecutter], *manovale* [manual laborer], *charrettaio* [carter], *fornaciaio* [kilnman], *renaiuolo* [sand supplier], and *chavaiuolo* [quarryman] would provide the necessary labor, skill and building materials. In turn, all of the expenses and incomes of the *cantiere* were copiously recorded by a *provveditore*, so that the records of the *cantiere* also provide an extremely accurate indicator of the costs involved in monumental construction in fifteenth-century Florence. The finances of the *cantiere* are particularly significant because more than thirty years ago Goldthwaite pointed out that “despite the long tradition of scholarship... surprisingly little is known

⁶ For studies of various European *cantieri* in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, see J. Guillaume, *Les Chantiers de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1991.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ ASF, CRS, 122, 127

⁹ I would like to thank Richard Goldthwaite for his helpful and insightful discussions regarding *cantieri* and the archival information presented in the present chapter.

about the economics of building - about the cost of putting buildings up...", and his claim in large part, still holds true.¹⁰ The previously unpublished information presented in this chapter regarding the finances of the *cantiere* provide a significant cross section of the expenditures at Santo Spirito over nearly a decade of the church's four-decade-long period of construction.

But what also emerges from the archival material is often apparently mundane information regarding the daily activity at the *cantiere*, such as a record for an expense of six *soldi* "to buy a brush to clean the stones"; or an expense of 4 *soldi* "to buy sponges."¹¹ These seemingly trivial expenditures not only reveal the types of tools and materials employed at the *cantiere*, but also the types of activities for which they were used. They also reveal how little certain construction practices have changed over the centuries. This is probably best demonstrated by the social and familial atmosphere of the *cantiere* described in the *Libro*. At the raising of each of the columns in the nave of the church, celebratory wine was provided "to all the workers for drinking", much the same way workers today might be provided with a "a round of beers."¹² On the occasion of the erection of the last of a row of columns, sausage and bread were also provided for all of the stonecutters.¹³ In February of 1472, workers were provided with a one-month salary bonus for the upcoming festivities of Carnevale.¹⁴ Clearly the *Opera* was trying to maintain a high morale in the workplace by consistently rewarding its workers. The records of the *Libro* bring a previously anonymous *cantiere* at Santo Spirito to life, and reveal that the labor, spirit, and energy of the human beings who were building Renaissance Florence were just as important as the brick, stone and wood used to build it. In her study of the *cantiere* of the Ospedale degli Innocenti, Valeria Tomasi further emphasizes the point of the familial atmospheres typical of fifteenth-century Florentine *cantieri*:

¹⁰ Goldthwaite, 1980, 115.

¹¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 2r.; 17v. - "...per comperare un pennello per nettare le pietre"; "...per comperare spugne"

¹² ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 29r. I thank Rab Hatfield for the beer analogy.

¹³ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 106v. - "per beveraggio a tutti i maestri schapellini...libbra 3 di salsiccia...4 fiaschi di vino... 10 pani grandi..."

¹⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 127r. - "... che così vollono gli operai per dare denari alla bichata dell'opera per carnasciale famo a tutti a lire 5 soldi 11" For Lenten and Carnival traditions in Renaissance Florence, see G. Ciappelli, *Carnevale e Quaresima: Comportamenti sociali e cultura a Firenze nel Rinascimento*, Rome, 1997.

Another aspect worth noting is that many of the workers were commonly identified by their nicknames (Arzoco, Baccellone, Bellina, Conparino, Pinconcio), which indicates that the workplace was not characterized by formal relationships, but, all in all, intimate and friendly ones.¹⁵

As we shall see later in this chapter, not only did the workers at Santo Spirito refer to each other by nicknames, the records of the *Libro* reveal that many of them were often members of the same family.

The opening page of the *Libro dei Debitori e Creditori* (1471-1481) clearly defines its purpose:

In the name of almighty God and of his most glorious mother, forever virgin Maria, and of our glorious Saint John the Baptist, and of all the celestial court of Paradise.

This book belongs to the opera of Santo Spirito of Florence and is entitled “Book of the debtors and creditors”, inside of which shall be written all things belonging to the said [opera] or for the said opera or those employed by it, kept by me, Piero de’Rossi, provveditore of the said opera...¹⁶

So as opposed to the *Libretto* discussed in the previous chapter, in which an external notary recorded the deliberations of the *Opera* and the names of the persons filling its various offices, this later *Libro* is a record kept directly by the *provveditore* himself on behalf of the *Opera*.¹⁷ Therefore, in addition to the logistical information regarding the construction history of the church, the *Libro* implicitly defines the responsibilities and activities of the office of the *provveditore*.¹⁸ Piero de’ Rossi, the acting *provedditore* (and a notary as well), was already involved at Santo Spirito as early as 1470 when he is mentioned as the procurator of the last will and testament of the already deceased chapel patron, Piero Velluti.¹⁹ Evidently by 1471, the sole person of Piero de’ Rossi

¹⁵ Tomasi, 2007, 306. : “Un ulteriore aspetto da sottolineare è che molti lavoratori venivano comunemente indicati con i loro soprannomi (Arzoco, Baccellone, Bellina, Conparino, Pinconcio) ad indicare come sul luogo di lavoro non vigessero rapporti esclusivamente formali ma tutto sommato confidenziali e amichevoli.”

¹⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, title page.

¹⁷ For the discussion of the earlier *Libretto*, see Chap. II, 1.

¹⁸ For the comparative responsibilities of the *provveditore* at the Ospedale degli Innocenti, see Tomasi, 2007, 303-304.

¹⁹ For Piero de’Rossi’s role as procurator of Piero Velluti’s will, see Chap. II, 3.

had replaced the tandem of the last recorded *provveditori* of Guido Velluti and Luigi Biliotti of 1461, although it is unclear whether others had served in the office during the ten-year interim.²⁰ De' Rossi's responsibility was to meticulously record all of the expenses and income of the *Opera*, as well as to make the necessary and timely payments to the workers and suppliers of the *cantiere* from funds kept by the *Opera* in the bank of Piero Mellini and associates.²¹

1.) Finances and the *Cantiere*

In addition to the extraordinary amount of information recorded in the *Libro* about the actual progression of the construction of the church, which will be discussed later in this chapter, the records also reveal highly detailed information regarding the finances of the building over nearly a nine and a half-year period. Since Goldthwaite's *The Building of Renaissance Florence* of 1980, the seminal work for the economics of construction, very little scholarship has been dedicated to the subject as regards Florentine architecture. Goldthwaite had also specifically addressed the finances at the Palazzo Strozzi and the Hospital of San Paolo in two earlier articles, while his later volume combines archival data from various centuries, buildings and European countries in order to present a broader view of Medieval and Renaissance building practices and traditions.²² Nevertheless, in spite of the considerable evidence he assembled, Goldthwaite still points out how little is known "... about the cost of putting buildings up."²³ To this comment, it is fair to add that even less is known about the construction costs of ecclesiastical buildings. Goldthwaite analysed the finances of a private domestic commission (Palazzo Strozzi), and a communal social institution (Hospital of San Paolo) approximately forty years ago, yet there has been surprisingly little scholarship

²⁰ For Guido Velluti and Luigi Biliotti's roles as *provveditori*, see Chap. II, 1.

²¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 3r.- "Felice di Mariotto et compagni chavauioli a Fiesole deono avere...da Piero Mellini et compagni posto Piero Mellini debba dare in questo libro a carta 21"

²² Goldthwaite incorporated much of the information from his two earlier groundbreaking articles on the economics of building into his later volume. See Goldthwaite, 1973, 99-194; and 1977, 221-306.

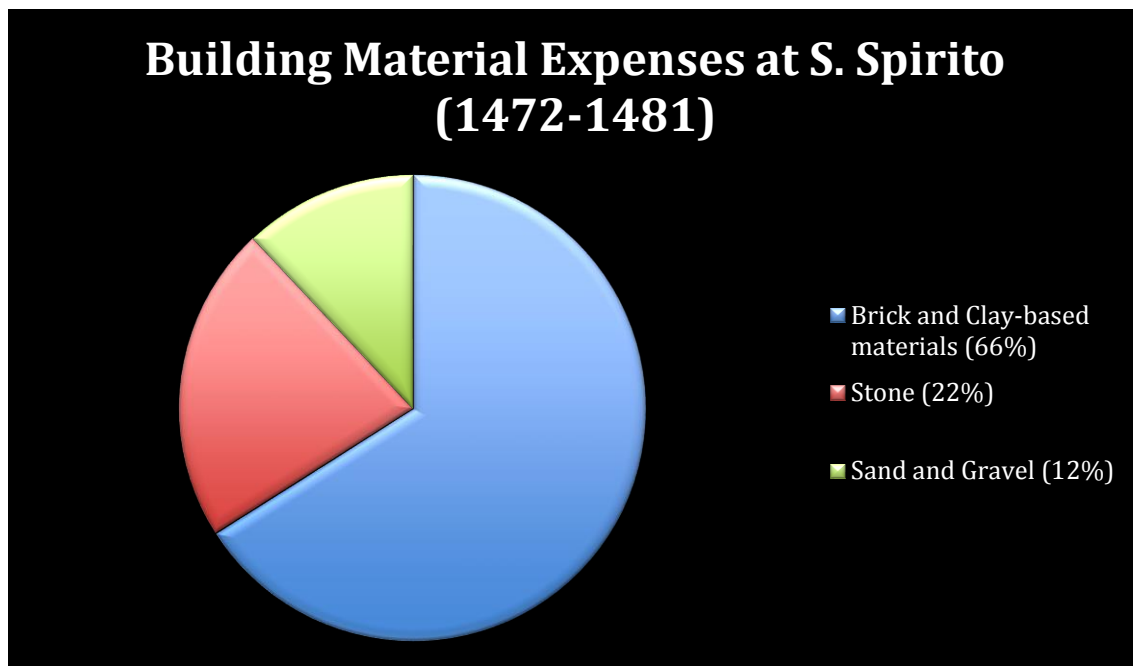
²³ Goldthwaite, 1980, 115.

addressed to the finances of communal churches in Florence.²⁴ The general absence of such a financial historical analysis represents a significant *lacuna* in our understanding of the building practices and finances in Renaissance Florence. Therefore, the detailed records contained within the *Libro* concerning the construction expenses of a single ecclesiastical building provides an extraordinary case study and meter by which to attempt to quantify the costs of construction of a Renaissance church in fifteenth-century Florence.

Furthermore, the account book records are also specific regarding the geography of construction - that is, exactly where in the church construction was taking place. Based on the evidence which will be discussed later in this chapter, we can conclude that the building activity that took place between June 1472 and December 1481 transpired entirely in the nave of the church. Therefore, the respective labor and building material expenses from this period would reflect the cost of the construction of the nave and at least the laying of the foundations for the façade of the church.²⁵ As the nave of Santo Spirito contains sixteen of the forty total semi-circular chapels that define the perimeter of the church, the nave would represent approximately 40% of the total architecture of the church, and therefore also a comparable proportion of its total cost. Any attempt at estimating a total cost for the church cannot be comprehensive. It ignores the cost of the construction of the façade, as well as other minor parts of the church to be discussed later in this chapter. Nonetheless, the accounts provide us with sufficient details to make a meaningful estimate of construction costs for a major ecclesiastical building, and consequently offer a useful benchmark against which to compare other projects.

²⁴ Saalman provides a description of the *cantiere* and the finances at the Hospital of the Innocents in Florence. See Saalman, 1993, 33-69. For the *cantiere* of Florence cathedral, see Haines, 1996.

²⁵ For a comparative breakdown of costs for Renaissance buildings (albeit sixteenth-century buildings), see H. Burns, "Building and Construction in Palladio's Vicenza", *Les Chantiers De La Renaissance*, 1991, 218-219.



The most significant expense in the realizing of the nave of Santo Spirito was for building materials, which amounted to a total of l. 12,275 s. 13 d. 8, or approximately 2,455 florins over the nearly-nine-and-half-year period recorded in the *Libro*. (**Table 9**) Of this total sum, two-thirds went towards the purchase of brick and other clay-based materials. That a majority of the building material expenses would be for clay-based materials should by no means be surprising as a majority of the church structure was either constructed in brick or covered with clay shingle tiles. Although a majority of the brick and tiles came from the kiln of Matteo di Tofano, at least another five kilns were employed by the *Opera* for the production of the materials during the period in discussion.²⁶ Quinterio describes a typical fifteenth-century kiln as a rather rudimentary structure consisting of "...one or two rooms for the personnel, which was made up of the kilnman, the carters and of mixers (who made the earth from which to make the bricks); then a large awning supported by pillars... and a large furnace for firing (the bricks)."²⁷ At Santo Spirito, it is not clear whether the kilns were also providing the transportation of the bricks in their costs. In view of the

²⁶ For the names of the other kilns employed at the *cantiere* of Santo Spirito, see Appendix D.

²⁷ Quinterio, 1980, 652: "... una o due stanze per il personale, formato dai fornaciai appunto, dai carrettai e dagli spalatori o rimestatori ("che fece la terra da fare i mattoni"); quindi un'ampia tettoia sorretta da pilastri... e un grosso fornello... per la cottura."

considerable cost of transportation at the *cantiere* in the form of independent carters (which shall be discussed later) it would not seem so.²⁸

Second to brick was stone, which made up 22% of the recorded building material expenses.²⁹ A majority, if not all, of this stone would have been *pietra serena*, which, as Goldthwaite points out "... became virtually the hallmark of Renaissance architecture" in Florence.³⁰ All of the columns and architectural dressing elements within the church are made of this grey, softer variety of *macigno* stone.³¹ The *Opera* employed at least eight different *cavaiuoli* during the period in question for the supply of stone for various architectural elements ranging from actual freestanding columns, to column capitals, to stone dressings for the interior and exterior of the church.³² But the two most commonly used quarrymen were Felice di Mariotto and Simone del Caprina who were both from Fiesole. Simone del Caprina was the son of a notable *cavaiuolo* who owned the concession that allowed him to quarry stone from the quarry of Caprino in Fiesole.³³ Del Caprina (the son) had also been employed a decade earlier at the *cantiere* of San Lorenzo as work progressed, coincidentally, on the nave of the basilica, suggesting a certain continuity of suppliers between the two Brunelleschi *cantieri*.³⁴ Another *cavaiuolo*, Giovanni di Betto, would not only supply stone for the church in 1479, but also for the construction of the sacristy and vestibule as many as twelve years later.³⁵ Two

²⁸ For a discussion of general costs of transportation at Florentine *cantieri*, see Goldthwaite, 1973, 165.

²⁹ For the mechanical means by which stone was extracted from the quarries, see M. Tripetta, "Mezzi d'opera ed utensileria per il trattamento delle superfici lapidee", *Le Pietre nell'Architettura: Struttura e Superfici*, Padua, 1991, 114-126.

³⁰ Goldthwaite, 1980, 223.

³¹ For *pietra serena*, see A. Bartolomei and F. Montanari, *Pietra Serena, materiali della città*, Florence, 2008.

³² In his essay, "Le Ultime Fasi della Costruzione di San Lorenzo a Firenze", Quinterio argues that the *pietra serena* from Fiesole and the surrounding area was more suited for architectural dressing and less so for free standing monolithic elements because of its frequent calcite veins. This was the motivation behind the use of stone from the Golfolina quarries near Signa on the western side of Florence for some of the freestanding columns in San Lorenzo. See F. Quinterio, "Ricordo di una giornata di studi a Villa I Tatti (1982): le ultime fasi della costruzione di San Lorenzo a Firenze sotto Pagno di Lapo (1455-1465)", *Bolletino della Società di Studi Fiorentini*, 2005, 9-16.

³³ Quinterio, 1996, 94.

³⁴ For Del Caprina's role as supplier at San Lorenzo, see Quinterio, 2005, 14.

³⁵ Quinterio, 1996, 94.

other suppliers of stone, Giovanni and Sandro del Riccio from Fiesole are identified in the payroll records as *scarpellatori*. Presumably the distinction between supplier and skilled laborer could be ambiguous, as one could serve in both roles. This is perhaps most pertinent in the case of quarrymen who were particularly competent in manufacturing and providing finished architectural materials such as columns and capitals, which would allow them to practice their skill both at the quarry and at the *cantiere*. Such a scenario also reflects the particularly well-developed market for architectural materials in fifteenth-century Florence. Goldthwaite writes

The ease with which a customer could get what he wanted...where finished pieces as capitals, consoles, and moldings were brought from any number of independent artisans... [the customer] did not have to make any effort to organize the forces of production by setting up a workshop for stonecutters at the building site - he simply went to the marketplace, where he found any number of artisans who were prepared to take his orders...³⁶

Finally, the remaining 12% of the expenses were used to purchase sand and gravel for both mortar production and the filling of and the setting of foundations. The supply and delivery of these materials usually fell under the competence of a *renaiuolo*, or “sand supplier.” At the *cantiere* of Santo Spirito, at least five different *renaiuoli* were employed over the near decade of time. The most frequently employed sand dealer was a certain Fruosmo di Berto. In fact, Fruosmo became such the regular *reniuolo* for the *cantiere*, that on one occasion, he accidentally received payment for sand provided by someone else.³⁷ Various times during his tenure at Santo Spirito, several monthly payments are recorded for Fruosmo.³⁸ This would indicate multiple consignments of sand and/or gravel, or employment in other tasks. In January 1474[1475], Fruosmo was paid for the delivery of “...two barrels to bring gravel purchased from

³⁶ Goldthwaite, 1980, 230.

³⁷ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 93r.- “Santi di Biagio Comparino renaiuolo is to receive on this day, January 23 1474[1475] l. 7 s. xv that are for sand, which was written in the account of Fruosmo di Berto by mistake” [Santi di Biagio Comparino de’ avere adi 23 di gennaio 1474[1475] lire sette soldi xv, sono per rena era scritta in conto di Fruosmo di Berto per errore...]

³⁸ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 114r. and 173r. For frequent payments to the *renaiuolo*, Fruosmo di Berto, see Appendix D.

Fruosmo di Berto...”³⁹. Yet, in November and December 1481, the same Fruosmo, who is specifically identified as a “*renaiuolo*” in the payment record, and his brother Berto were paid to “...clear out and clean the crossing of the worksite...”⁴⁰ This is a task one would logically assign to a *manovale* and a *charrettaio* [carter], not a supplier of sand. This is another instance at the *cantiere* of Santo Spirito where the category of worker and work were not always the same. In fact, although gravel is a material usually provided by *renaiuoli*, in August 1475, a *chavaiuolo* named Giovanni di Piero Baccegli was paid for the furnishing of gravel that was transported by the carter Matteo di Tommaso.⁴¹ Gravel is a relatively easy to collect by-product of a quarry, and its sale by a *chavaiuolo* may have been cost-saving opportunity for the *Opera*.

Table 9:

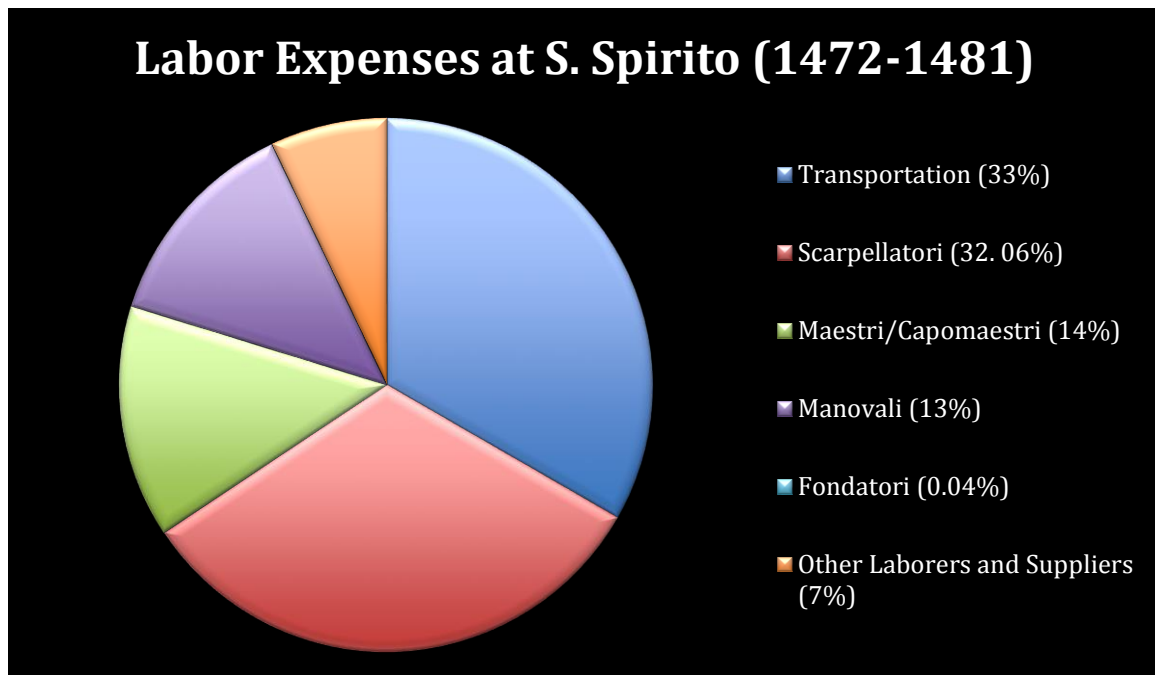
Annual Costs of Building Materials 1472-1481

Year	Brick/Tiles/Lime	Stone	Sand and Gravel	Total Annual Expenses
1472 (June-December)	l. 361 s. 14 d. 9	l. 241 s. 16 d.-	l. 121 s. 5 d. 6	l.724 s.16 d.3
1473	l. 391 s. 9 d. 1	l.442 s. 17 d.--	l. 99 s. 11 d.6	l.934 s.7 d.7
1474	l. 1,457 s. 8 d. 9	l. 301 s. 8 d.--	l. 372 s. 15 d. 7	l.2,131 s.12 d.4
1475	l. 1,096 s. 4 d. 3	l. 570 s. 7 d. --	l. 139 s. 17 d. 7	l.1,807 s.8 d.6
1476	l. 1,327 s. 5 d. 7	l. -- s. -- d. --	l. 392 s. 1 d. 8	l.1,719 s. 7 d.3
1477	l. 1,386 s. 5 d. 5	l. 114 s. -- d. --	l. 222 s. 5 d. 7	l. 1,722 s.11 d.--
1478	l. 924 s. 3 d. 7	l. 61 s. 5 d. --	l. 56 s. 12 d. 4	l.1,042 s. -- d.11
1479	l. 602 s. 5 d.--	l. 549 s. 16 d. --	l. 128 s. 18 d. 3	l.1,2080 s. 19 d. 3
1480	l. 288 s. 14 d. 4	l. 205 s. 15 d. --	l. 7 s. 15 d. 5	l.502 s.4 d. 9
1481 (June, November and December records missing)	l. 227 s. 7 d. 6	l. 160 s. 4 d. --	l. 24 s. 4 d. --	l.411 s. 15 d.6
Total:	l. 8,062 s. 18 d. 3	l. 2,647 s. 8 d.--	l. 1,565 s.7 d. 5	l. 12,275 s. 13 d. 8

³⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 88v.- “...per due barille da portare sassi comperato da Fruosmo di Berto...”

⁴⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 237r and 237v.- “...lire cinquanta pagati a Fruosmo e Berto di Berto in sullo sghombrare e nettare la croce dell’opera...”; “Fruosmo di Berto renaiuolo...”

⁴¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 107v.- “Giovanni di Piero Baccegli... chondurre la ghiaia... porto Matteo di Tomaso charrettaio.”



After building materials, labor was the second greatest expense for the *Opera* in the realizing of its church. A total of l. 12,089 s. 19 d. 2, or approximately 2,418 florins, were invested into the labor force that transformed building material into architecture.⁴² This total amount was divided nearly evenly between skilled (*maestri*, *scarpellatori*, *fondatori*, etc.) - and unskilled (*manovali*, *charrettai*) workers - with only 100 florins more spent on skilled labor. **(Table 11)** Curiously, the annual trend that emerges is an alternation between skilled and unskilled labor as the dominant expense. For only two years of the nine-and-half-year period of the records (1473 and 1479) were near equal expenses recorded for both. This suggests that the type of labor expense at the *cantiere* - that is, skilled or unskilled - usually reflects the nature of construction at hand and the type of labor subsequently required.

Furthermore, the size of the *cantiere* was in continual flux, swelling in number during certain periods, and then diminishing dramatically in others. This could of course be in part explained by the general seasonal nature of the

⁴² The discrepancy of l. 1,092 s. -- d. 4 between the total amount indicated in the "Annual Labor Costs" table (Table 11) and the sum total of the expenditures in the "Annual Labor Costs by Profession" table (Table 12) is due to the lack of inclusion of the expenditures for the lesser professions such as blacksmiths, barrel-makers, rope-makers, and roofers in the later table; although these expenditures were incorporated into the overall labor costs.

labor, with most of the work concentrated in the more agreeable summer months. Paradoxically, though, the two largest *cantieri* at Santo Spirito during the period in discussion were recorded in the winter months of January and February of 1472[1473]. They respectively numbered twenty-seven and thirty-two workers. It may be that Florence was experiencing a particularly mild winter in 1473; or, perhaps, after finally seeing the crossing of their church completed after nearly three decades of sporadic construction, the *Opera* was pressing to see the nave realized as well.

Workers would regularly appear in the payment records for prolonged periods of time, and then disappear, only to reappear again months or years later. Such fluidity in fifteenth-century Florentine *cantieri* was the norm. As Goldthwaite points out:

It goes without saying that merely because a given worker shows up... for one week and then disappears only to turn up later again if at all, we cannot conclude that he was therefore unemployed in the meantime, for we have no idea whether in fact he might have found employment elsewhere... fluctuation would seem to have been in part a consequence of the workers' own decisions.⁴³

Furthermore, it was very common to see the same workers employed at various *cantieri* throughout the city, and indeed they might have also been employed in centres outside of Florence.⁴⁴ Thus, for example, Bartolomeo di Francesco di Domenico da Settignano, better known as Meo da Caprina, was the younger brother of the *cavaiuolo* Simone del Caprina discussed earlier, and was active in *cantieri* in Ferrara and Rome in the 1450s.⁴⁵ Many workers may even have been related to others already employed at the same *cantiere*. Building professions then, as now, ran strong in families. The *charrettaio* Romolo di Antonio Manzoni was the son of the previously employed carter Antonio Manzoni. Another *charrettaio*, Santi di Francesco, was actually the son of the *manovale* Francesco di Antonio. The *renaiuolo* Fruosmo appears to have been able to find work at the *cantiere* of Santo Spirito for a number of his sons - first

⁴³ Goldthwaite, 1973, 177.

⁴⁴ For examples of various workers employed at major fifteenth-century *cantieri* in Florence, see. Quinterio, 2005, 14. For Florentine *maestri* in Roman *cantieri*, see F. Quinterio, "I Maestri Fiorentini Nei Cantieri Romani Del Quattrocento", *Bolletino della Società di Studi Fiorentini*, 2010, 17-26.

⁴⁵ S. Borsi, F. Quinterio, C. Vatovec, *Maestri Fiorentini nei Cantieri Romani del Quattrocento*, 1989, Rome, 164.

Giovanni di Fruosmo, then Zanobi di Fruosmo, and finally a third son, Luca di Fruosmo as *manovali* at the worksite.⁴⁶

Table 10:

Average Size of the *Cantiere* in Number of Workers (1472-1481)

Year	Overall Cantiere including Suppliers	Scarpellatori	Maestri	Manovali	Charrettai
1472 (June-December)	9.4	5	0.86	7.3	1.6
1473	16	4.7	1.5	2.9	2.6
1474	13.2	5.7	0.7	2.6	1
1475	12.7	4.7	1.1	2.5	1.2
1476	11	3.4	1	1	2.8
1477	11	3.1	0.8	1.7	3.4
1478	9.2	2.7	0.7	1.6	2.1
1479	11.9	4.4	1.2	3.2	0.6
1480	14.2	4.5	1.8	3.8	1.7
1481 (June, November and December records missing)	11.1	5.1	2.3	2.6	0.3

The smallest *cantiere* recorded at Santo Spirito over the near decade covered by the records consisted of six men of varying professions in June of 1472; while the largest consisted of the previously discussed thirty-two man *cantiere* of February 1472[1473]. The average size of the *cantiere* over the nearly-nine-and-half year period was twelve workers per month. This is a relatively small workforce in comparison to the *cantiere* of Palazzo Strozzi that averaged between fifty and eighty men, and at one point numbered over one hundred.⁴⁷ One might explain the discrepancy simply as a matter of financial resources - one *cantiere*, Santo Spirito, was one of the many *cantieri* in

⁴⁶ For examples of familial relations in Florentine *cantieri*, see Tomasi, 2007, 306. For the employment of Giovanni, Zanobi and Luca di Berto, see Appendix D.

⁴⁷ Goldthwaite, 1973, 172: "Taken all together, the total work force both at the quarries and on the site from the summer of 1491 through the summer of 1493 was seldom below forty at any time; it was usually between fifty and eighty; and during the winter of 1492-1493 there was a period of about three months when there were never less than eighty men and at least once there were over one hundred."

Florence contemporaneously subsidized by the commune, while the other, Palazzo Strozzi was employed privately and directly by the fabulously wealthy Filippo Strozzi. Additionally, if the size of the *cantiere* was directly proportional to the quantity of construction taking place at Santo Spirito, then the inclusive years of 1473-1474 and 1479-1481 seem to have been the most productive.

Table 11:

Annual Labor Costs (1472-1481)

Year	Skilled Labor (Scarpellatori, Maestri, Fondatori, Fabbri, Bottai)	Unskilled Labor (Manovali, Charrettai)	Total Annual Labor Expenses
1472 (June- December)	l. 448 s. 19 d.10	l. 78 s. 18	l. 529 s. 17 d.10
1473	l. 866 s. 18 d. 2	l. 846 s. 13 d. 11	l. 1,713 s. 12 d. 1
1474	l. 917 s. 19 d. 8	l. 410 s. 18	l. 1,328 s. 17 d. 8
1475	l. 1228 s. 19 d. 2	l. 398 s. 11 d. 8	l. 1,627 s.10 d.10
1476	l. 376 s. 10 d. 2	l. 916 s. 7 d. 8	l.1,292 s. 17 d.10
1477	l. 483 s. 12 d. 11	l. 1,282 s. 3 d. 3	l.1,765 s. 16 d. 2
1478	l. 216 s. 7 d. 6	l. 820 s. 13 d. 10	l.1,037 s. 1 d. 4
1479	l. 486 s. 18 d. 8	l. 440 s. – d. --	l.926 s. 18 d. 8
1480	l. 723 s. 15 d. --	l. 490 s. 8 d. 11	l.1,214 s. 3 d. 11
1481 (June, November and December records missing)	l. 534 s.1 d. 8	l. 120 s. 18 d. 4	l.655 s.-- d.--
Total:	l. 6,284 s. 5 d. 7	l. 5,805 s.13 d.7	l.12,089 s.19 d.2

The greatest expense for labor was for the transportation provided by the unskilled *charrettai*, or “carters” or “carriers”, which constituted a third of the total expenditures. **(Table 12)** There was a yearly average of almost two *charrettai* employed at the *cantiere* of Santo Spirito during the period in question. These carters were employed for both the delivery of building material to the *cantiere*, but also for its subsequent removal (as evidenced by the case of the carter Simone d’Aghostino who was employed to remove rubble, as discussed above). That the transportation of materials to and from the worksite should represent a significant expense is not surprising considering that most, if not all, of the material originated outside of the city. The quarries, although in nearby towns such as Settignano and Fiesole, would sometimes not provide the transportation of their stone, so, in turn, as in the case of Palazzo Strozzi, “the committee set up its own transportation system, employing carriers

and buying oxen for them in exchange for credit against eventual carriage charges.”⁴⁸ Such was the case on September 30 1472, when the *Opera* paid “Michele di Nanni Chori, carter, for his labor...in conducting the columns...”⁴⁹ Or, when on April 29, 1475[1476], the *Opera* purchased an ox “... paid by Piero Mellini and associates to Menno di Berto da Chasale of Prato for one large red ox for carting... [and] the ox is expected to haul to the worksite...”⁵⁰. Often times the owners of oxen would even rent them to other carters or quarrymen or *cantieri* for hauling materials, as well as other tasks.⁵¹

Kilns would also usually be found outside cities, so as to reduce the threat of fires, and so would also require transportation of their materials to the *cantiere*. As Goldthwaite points out “The firing of bricks took place outside the city walls not only because of the practical considerations of accessibility to clays (or limestone) and firewood, but also because, for obvious safety reasons, communal legislation restricted their location in the city.”⁵² The kiln of one of the kilnman employed at Santo Spirito was located just outside of the western gate of San Frediano.⁵³ Timber from the forests of the Apennine ridge and sand (*arena*) dredged from the Arno River would also require transporting.⁵⁴ A majority of the stone quarries were just outside the city limits of Florence; and in contrast to many other buildings in the city, the construction of Santo Spirito did not involve the use of marble, which would have incurred an even greater transportation expense, as this material was transported over both water and

⁴⁸ Ibid., 164.

⁴⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 2v. - “ E adì 30 detto [settembre 1472] lire venti et per loro a Michele di Nanni Chori charrettaio per sua fatica a servigli a chondurre le cholonne...”

⁵⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 127 117v.- “E adì 29 detto [d’aprile 1475[1476] lire novantasette soldi x denari vj pagho per lui Piero Mellini e compagni a Nencio di Berto da Chasale di Prato per uno bue rosso grande da charro compero dallui el’opera il bue si intende dell’opera in sino attanto non la servito a tirare all’opera.” During the construction of his family palace in late fifteenth-century Florence, Filippo Strozzi also purchased his own oxen and carts that were then operated by independent carters. See Goldthwaite, 1973, 165.

⁵¹ Quinterio, 1980, 652.

⁵² Goldthwaite, 1973, 181. Goldthwaite then goes on to discuss those exceptional “urban” kilns within the city walls.

⁵³ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 173r.- “Andrea d’Ugolino d’Andrea fornaciaio fuori alla porta di San Friano debba avere...”

⁵⁴ The *Opera* was also purchasing lumber from the “boschi scopetini” - or forests just south of Florence around the town of Scopeto. See ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 50v.

land from the quarries in the Apuan Alps.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, that a total of one third of the labor costs should go towards transportation, even with the privileged position held by Florence with so many of its building resources in such close proximity, reflects the paramount role of transportation costs in the building projects of the time.⁵⁶ In fact, in June of 1476, six separate, independent carters were being simultaneously employed by the *cantiere*.⁵⁷ The tendency of Florentines to build with relatively inexpensive building materials such as brick, as well as the proximity of other materials such as stone and timber may also help explain just exactly why so many churches were built in Florence. Although the cost of transportation was still a significant expense, in contrast to the great stone churches of Northern Europe, Florentine churches did not cost very much.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ For the high costs of transportation of marble for Florentine buildings, see Quinterio, 1980, 654, n.27. Quinterio also identifies those stone quarries closest to Florence as Santa Margherita a Montici, San Miniato, Monteripaldi, the Campore, Monteoliveto, and behind the church of Santa Felicità, which quarries would eventually be transformed into the Boboli Gardens. (Quinterio, 1980, 651.) For the use of stone in Italian architecture, see F. Rodolico, *Le pietre delle città d'Italia*, Florence, 1953.

⁵⁶ For the comparative costs of the transportation of materials for the pavements of Siena cathedral by the *vetturali*, as *charrettai*, were called in Siena, see G. Aronow, "A Documentary History of the pavement decoration in Siena Cathedral, 1362 through 1506", Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1985, 336 – 338.

⁵⁷ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 124v.

⁵⁸ For Florentine workmen active in foreign *cantieri*, see F. Quinterio, "La Presenza dei Maestri toscani a Tours, Traves e Tolosa nella prima metà del Cinquecento", *Bollettino d'Arte*, 2009, 1-120.

Table 12:**Annual Labor Costs by Profession (1472-1481)**

Year	Maestro di Muro/dello Scarpello	Scarpellatore	Manovale	Charrettaio	Fondatore
1472 (June-December)	l. 194 s. 7 d. --	l. 179 s. 17 d. --	l. 25 s. 13 d. --	l. 55 s. 10 d. --	l. 60 s. 13 d. 10
1473	l. 332 s. -- d. 7	l. 523 s. 8 d. --	l. 244 s. 14 d. 8	l. 626 s. -- d. 10	l. 105 s. 7 d. 4
1474	l. 163 s. 14 d. --	l. 443 s. -- d. --	l. 173 s. 3 d. --	l. 207 s. 2 d. --	l. 204 s. 15 d. 8
1475	l. 159 s. 69 d. --	l. 352 s. 4 d. 6	l. 274 s. 15 d. 10	l. 146 s. 14 d. -	l. 173 s. 15 d. 8
1476	l. 176 s. -- d. --	l. 201 s. 10 d. --	l. 88 s. 12 d. 6	l. 790 s. 10 d. 6	Absent
1477	l. 62 s. 14 d. --	l. 408 s. 12 d. 11	l. 67 s. 8 d. 6	l. 1,086 s. 16 d. 3	Absent
1478	l. 38 s. 1 d. --	l. 131 s. 6 d. --	l. 83 s. 9 d. --	l. 811 s. 4 d. --	Absent
1479	l. 177 s. 16 d. --	l. 316 s. 8 d. 8	l. 252 s. 15	l. 161 s. 70 d. -	Absent
1480	l. 194 s. 18 d. 4	l. 476 s. 18 d. 4	l. 244 s. 9 d. 8	l. 247 s. 17 d. -	Absent
1481 (June, November and December records missing)	l. 230 s. 6 d. --	l. 221 s. 16 d. 8	l. 112 s. 13 d. 4	l. 11 s. 12 d. --	Absent
Total:	l. 1,671 s. 15 d. 11	l. 3,255 s. 1 d. 2	l. 1,567 s. 12 d. 8	l. 3,960 s. 16 d. 7	l. 542 s. 12 d. 6

Almost a further third of the total labor costs went to the *scarpellatori* of the *cantiere*, with a yearly average of just over four stonecutters employed at the worksite. Of all the workers, the *scarpellatori* were consistently the most numerous.⁵⁹ The main responsibility of these workers, as evidenced by their very name, which derives from the *scalpello* - or the “chisel” they employed - was to work or cut stone.⁶⁰ Although *scarpellatori* might also be responsible for furnishing stone, as evidenced in the previously mentioned case of the *scarpellatori* Giovanni and Sandro del Richo. At the *cantiere* of Santo Spirito during the period in question, as many as twenty-three different stonecutters were employed. Many of these workers, such as Salvi d’Andrea, Giovanni and Alessandro del Richo, Mariotto di Jacopo, and Giovanni di Domenico da Gaiole would appear consistently, if not semi-permanently over the nine and a third

⁵⁹ Such a statistic is in line with the *cantiere* at Palazzo Strozzi: “Generally, there were many more stonecutters than laborers, sometimes two or three times as many.” (Goldthwaite, 1973, 172).

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the various tools employed by *scarpellatori*, see G. Bianchi and R. Parenti, “Gli strumenti degli ‘scalpellini’ toscani. Osservazioni premilinari”, *Le Pietre nell’Architettura*, 1991, Padua, 139-150.

years; while others might only appear in one or two payment records.⁶¹ On one occasion, in September of 1480, as many as twelve stonecutters were employed simultaneously at the *cantiere*.⁶² Curiously, Giovanni di Domenico da Gaiole, nicknamed “Il Grasso”, who in February of 1461 was named *capomaestro* of Santo Spirito, is simply identified as one of the nearly two-dozen stonecutters in this later construction period.⁶³ It is unclear whether this change in status had anything to do with the changing nature of construction, or whether it was simply a demotion. As Giovanni di Domenico’s fortunes diminished, so those of Salvi d’Andrea greatly improved, as in January 1476[1477], he was appointed “maestro dello scharpello.”⁶⁴

Such a promotion is a clear indication that the *cantiere* was now focused on the raising of columns and the dressing of the walls of the church with *pietra serena* architectural members. Such labor was in the hands of the *scarpellatori*, and now they had a foreman. Furthermore, the importance of the stonecutters in this phase of construction may also have given them a sense of superiority at the *cantiere*, or what Goldthwaite describes as a “skilled labor worthy of the dignity of individualization.”⁶⁵ On November 7, 1475, when the last column on the western side of the nave was erected, the *Opera* provided wine, sausage and bread only “...to the master schapellini” in celebration, whereas in the past, drink was provided to the whole *cantiere* - “tutta la bichata.”⁶⁶

While no clear payment pattern appears in the *Libro* for the *scarpellatori*, certain amounts do appear repeatedly. The minimum regular payment for the stonecutters between 1472 and 1476 is l. 2 s. 17 per month, while the maximum regular monthly payment is for l. 5 s. 11.⁶⁷ Since a normal working week consisted of six days, this would amount to a minimum daily wage of s. 2 d. 6 and a maximum daily work wage of s. 4 d. 6. This daily wage average is less than half of what it was twenty years later for *scarpellatori* at the *cantiere* of Palazzo Strozzi, where stonecutters were earning an average of 13 to 16 soldi

⁶¹ For the frequency of employment for workmen at the *cantiere*, see Appendix D.

⁶² ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 221v. See Appendix D.

⁶³ For Domenico da Gaiole’s tenure as *capomaestro*, see Chap. II, 4.

⁶⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 127 136v.

⁶⁵ Goldthwaite, 1973, 170.

⁶⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 106v.- “E adì 7 detto [novembre 1475] per beveraggio a tutti maestri schapellini che s’rizzo l’ultima cholonna del lato del chiostro libbra 3 di salsiccia s. 6, 4 fiaschi di vino s. 10, e per 10 pani grandi s. 11.”

⁶⁷ For comparative wage rates for *scarpellatori*, see Goldthwaite, 1973, 174.

per day.⁶⁸ Such a discrepancy might simply be explained by inflation, but most likely by the fact that the average monthly wage at Santo Spirito did not reflect continuous labor throughout the month. By 1479, at Santo Spirito, this maximum average monthly wage had increased to l. 5 s. 16, or a daily wage of s. 4 d.8. Curiously, there was no immediate wage increase for Salvi d'Andrea after his promotion to the role of *maestro dello scarpello* in 1477. He would continue to earn as much as the other stonecutters. For the first nine months of 1479, Salvi earned an average monthly stipend of l. 5 s. 16. Then in October and November of the same year, his payments were significantly greater for amounts of l. 41 and l. 48 respectively. This could either be the result of greater responsibilities assigned to him, more continuous work, or the fact that Salvi was also providing stone, in addition to working it. As discussed earlier, it appears that *scarpellatori* would often times also furnish the stone materials to the *cantiere*. Such was the case in May of 1480 when the frequently employed stonecutter Alessandro del Richo was paid to provide stone for the crossing of the church.⁶⁹ Again, this was the case for the previously cited example of payment to the *capomaestro dello scarpello* himself for "...the column brought by Salvi."⁷⁰ Also, let us not forget the lethargic *scarpellatore*, Giovanni di Pierone, discussed in the previous chapter who, some thirty years earlier, was responsible for the tardy supply of the first five columns to the church.⁷¹

The third greatest labor expense at Santo Spirito was for the *maestri* and/or *capomaestri*, which represents about 14% of the total expenditures. On a yearly average, there was at least one *maestro* directing labor at the worksite. These were the managerial or supervisory figures at the *cantiere* who directed two different aspects of construction. The *maestro di muro*, "master of the wall" was generally responsible for overseeing all the aspects of building at a *cantiere*, while the *maestro dello scarpello* would be responsible for those matters related directly to his material of competence - that is, stone.

Acting as a sort of foreman, the *maestro di muro* may also have been responsible for choosing which workers - both laborers and suppliers - were

⁶⁸ Goldthwaite, 1973, 178.

⁶⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 208r.- "Piero di Francesco Mellini e compagni camerlengo dell'opera di Santo Spirito di Firenze deono avere ad' 27 di maggio 1480 fiorni tre larghi prima a Sandro del icho da Fiesole e agli si gli danno per portare di pietre per la tribuna"

⁷⁰ ASF. CRS, 122, 127, 18r.

⁷¹ For Giovanni Pierone, see Chap. I, 3.

hired for the *cantiere*.⁷² It is also worth remembering that it was the *capomaestro* who was ultimately responsible for the putting into practice the architect's plan, in conjunction with the demands of the patron, which at Santo Spirito was the *Opera* committee.⁷³ At Santo Spirito, during the period in question (1471-1481), Giovanni di Mariano, known by the nickname *Lo Scorbacchia*, filled this position. Another *maestro* named Francesco del Corno regularly accompanied him. Since Del Corno's monthly wages amounted to about one fourth of those earned by *Lo Scorbacchia*, he most certainly served as the secondary *maestro di muro*.⁷⁴ The difference in earnings between *Lo Scorbacchia* and Del Corno explicitly reflects the hierarchy of the former as *capomaestro* and the later as a *maestro*. Luisa Giordano claims that the professional tandem "... further ensured that at least one of the two commissioned master masons was always present at the *cantiere* to direct and exercise control over the progress of work."⁷⁵ Giordano describes much of the contractual lexicon incorporating expressions such as *in solidum*, or "whole or together", or *compagni* - "companions", suggesting that the role of *maestro di muro* was normally filled by a pair of workers.⁷⁶

Although *Scorbacchia's* presence is documented for the entire time period recorded in the *Libro*, his presence at the *cantiere* was not entirely consistent. After appearing regularly in the payment records from their inception in June of 1472, and earning an average monthly salary of l. 25 s. 5, his name is not recorded between September and November of 1474.⁷⁷ He disappears again for an eight-month period between June of 1477 and February of 1478, then again between April of the same year and January 1479. When he returned, his monthly salary had been reduced to an average of l. 7. His name would again disappear for seven months of 1479, and for the first four months of 1480, but then appears consistently for the remainder of the payment records through October of 1481. But during this later period, *Lo*

⁷² For further discussion of the responsibilities of the *maestro di muro* (albeit in Lombardy) see L. Giordano, "I Maestri muratori Lombardi", *Les Chantiers De La Renaissance*, Paris, 1991, 165-173.

⁷³ Giordano, 1991, 168: "Ai maestri muratori viene di norma affidata l'esecuzione dei progetti studiati e messi a punto dall'architetto."

⁷⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 53v.: Payment of July, 1473.

⁷⁵ Giordano, 1991, 167.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ For payments to acting *capomaestro* Giovanni di Mariano (*Lo Scorbacchia*), see Appendix D.

Scorbacchia's average monthly salary was reduced to 1.12. His assistant *maestro*, Francesco del Corno, was also conspicuously absent from the worksite, having only been employed for eleven months between 1475 and 1481. The *capomaestro's* (and assistant *maestro's*) prolonged absences and reduced salary might be explained by the fact that his direct supervision was no longer constantly necessary, and consequently his responsibilities and employment reduced.

It is probably no coincidence that the role of the *maestro di muro* diminished just as the *scarpellatore*, Salvi d'Adrea, was elevated to the position of *maestro dello scarpello* in January of 1476[1477]. By May of the following year, his title changed to *capomaestro dello scarpello* (just as *Lo Scorbacchia's* title had evolved from *maestro* to *capomaestro*).⁷⁸ Such a scenario may be simply explained by the changing nature of construction. As the walls of the nave of the church neared completion by the end of 1476, work focused on dressing those walls with architectural decoration in *pietra serena*; hence the need for a supervising stonecutter to oversee the work. As opposed to the *capo degli scarpellini* whose responsibility it was "to operate the quarries and to prepare the stone up to the point where... it was put before the builders", Salvi's responsibilities had more to do with the actual working of stone at the building site.⁷⁹ The records at Santo Spirito do not indicate that Salvi was actually consistently supplying stone to the *cantiere*; but what the records do reveal is a *capomaestro dello scarpello* who was being entrusted with some of the most important architectural decisions regarding the overall appearance of the church. Such was the case when Salvi d'Andrea was asked to design a wooden model for both the façade and lantern of Santo Spirito. The assignment of such general "architectural" decisions to the "master of the stonecutters" is another clear example of the fluidity of Renaissance *cantieri*, where a specific title (in this case, a supervisory title) does not always necessarily connote specific traditional responsibilities.

After the *maestri*, the employment of the *manovali*, or the common unskilled manual labor, was the next greatest labor expense, constituting approximately 13% of the total cost. Annually, there was an average of nearly three manual laborers at the *cantiere*. With a couple of exceptions, the *Libro*

⁷⁸ See Appendix D.

⁷⁹ Goldthwaite, 1973, 119.

records do not shed very much light on the specific responsibilities of these workers, but they were most likely employed to assist the *maestri* and *scarpellatori* in a wide variety of tasks. In the previously cited example, the *manovali* Giusto di Nanni and Domenico di Meo were each paid s.10 for five working days spent completing the wall of the Biliotti chapel. On November 20, 1473, payment is recorded for "... twelve *lire* that are for ten work days for the *maestro* Vieri at a rate of s. xv per day and for 9 working days as a *manovale* at a rate of s.10 per day for having worked on the roofs of the convent."⁸⁰ Yet on another occasion the manual laborers were employed for a completely different task: "and this day, 18 of the said month [March 1474] soldi xxij are for two working days of manual laborers... for removing stones and rubble from the ground, that is Michele del Diberto and Talino di Berto of Fiorenza."⁸¹

There were at least thirty-six different *manovali* employed at the *cantiere* between 1472 and 1481. Several of these workers, such as Luca di Pippo and Antonio di Sandro da San Moro appear consistently throughout the payment records, while others may have been employed at the *cantiere* for as little as a single month. In October 1479, as many as eleven *manovali* flanked an equal number of *scarpellatori* in a particularly large *cantiere*.⁸² Their varying tasks and labors are directly reflected in their varied and fluctuating earnings. The minimal monthly earnings of a *manovale* at Santo Spirito was as little as s. 2, while the highest recorded payment was to Antonio di Sando da San Moro (not to be confused with the homonymous *charrettaio* employed contemporaneously at the *cantiere*) in November 1475 for a sum of l. 30 s. 2.⁸³ Di Sandro's monthly earnings for that month were more than double those of the *capomaestro*, *Lo Scorbacchia*. Presumably, Di Sandro's exceptional earnings were indicative of an exceptional quantity of labor performed at the *cantiere*, and the *capomaestro*'s sporadic presence at the *cantiere* at that time. Although no regular payment pattern appears for *manovali* in the *Libro*, the most frequently

⁸⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 44v. : "A adì 20 detto [novembre 1473] lire dodici sono per opere x per maestro Vieri a soldi xv il dì e per opere 9 di manovale a soldi x il dì ano lavorato de tetti del convento...."

⁸¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 64r.- "E adì 18 detto [marzo 1474] soldi xxij sono per 2 opere di manovale tolsi per levare via pietre dalla terra et calcinacci cioè Michele del Diberto e Talino di Berto di Fiorenza"

⁸² ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 194v. For payment records, see Appendix D.

⁸³ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 113v. For payment records, see Appendix D.

recorded monthly payment amounts were for l. 3 and l. 5 s. 11.⁸⁴ But the above-cited examples of *manovale* work indicate a daily earning wage of s.10. This daily wage is in line with the s. 8 - s. 9 per day wage that unskilled workers earned at the Palazzo Strozzi.⁸⁵ Since the most frequently appearing minimum and maximum monthly wages of the *manovali* are comparable to those of the *scarpellatori*, it would suggest that on a general level, the salaries of the *manovali* were to a great extent comparable to those of the skilled-labor *scarpellatori*. This, in turn, would suggest that the professional hierarchy between *scarpellatore* and *manovale* - or skilled and unskilled laborer - was not as rigid as we might assume.

The *fondatori*, or “master of foundations” represented the last of the major labor expenses. Goldthwaite describes the profession as such:

Preparation of foundations was a major operation of obvious importance for the construction of any building, and it is not surprising in view of its highly technical requirements that there were expert founder-entrepreneurs in Florence who could be engaged for this purpose alone.⁸⁶

At the *cantiere* of Santo Spirito, the cost of these “founder-entrepreneurs” amounted to 0.04% of the total labor expenses; and like at the Palazzo Strozzi, the *fondatori* were not responsible for supplying the gravel as fill, or for removing the by-product of their labor – that is, dirt.⁸⁷ A similar agreement was made half a century earlier between the *fondatore* at the Ospedale degli Innocenti, Ambrogio di Leonardo, and the *Opera* institution.⁸⁸ At Santo Spirito, both *chavaiuoli* and *renaiuoli* were contracted for the necessary gravel, while *charrettai* were employed to transport the gravel to and the dirt away from the

⁸⁴ For *manovali* payments, see Appendix D.

⁸⁵ Goldthwaite, 1973, 178.

⁸⁶ Goldthwaite, 1973, 142.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 143: “Frilli (*fondatore*), however, was not responsible for hauling away the dirt or for supplying gravel as fill; for this service other arrangements were made with a company of sand suppliers (*renaiuoli*).” For a comparative study of the foundations at Palazzo Strozzi, see B. Preyer, “I documenti sulle fondamenta di Palazzo Strozzi”, *Palazzo Strozzi 1489-1989: Atti del Convegno di Studi, Firenze 3-6 luglio 1989*, 1991, 195-213.

⁸⁸ Tomasi, 2007, 304.

cantiere.⁸⁹ Usually payment was made to the *fondatori* for the cubic area (*quadretto*) of foundations dug.⁹⁰

A *fondatore* by the name of Andrea di Giovanni was employed at the worksite almost exclusively, and his presence was sporadic: “And this day 2 of the said month [July 1474] two large florins paid to Andrea di Giovanni *fondatore* for part of the foundations he made in the worksite of Santo Spirito....”⁹¹ Payment was also recorded for one other *fondatore* named Lorenzo di Giovanni in October of 1472.⁹² In addition to digging foundations, the *fondatore* might also be employed to dig wells, as was the case when Andrea di Giovanni was employed to do so on the adjacent Frescobaldi property: “and for the labor Andrea di Giovanni di Sandro, *fondatore*, for a ten *braccia* deep well...”⁹³ Curiously, the *fondatore* at Santo Spirito was employed only as work progressed from one part of the church to another. In modern building practice, foundations are normally laid in their entirety before construction begins. Instead, at Santo Spirito, the *fondatore* was employed sporadically for five non-consecutive months in 1473, then for five consecutive months in 1474, and finally in January and August of 1475, as construction demanded. As will be clearly demonstrated later in this chapter, as the *cantiere* was nearing the completion of one area of the church, foundations were being ordered from the *fondatore* for the subsequent area.

There were of course other labor and construction material expenses for workers not directly included in this analysis. These workers and suppliers were engaged so infrequently at the *cantiere* as to not influence the overall finances of the project, yet they were an integral part of the worksite. The presence of a *maestro dei tetti*, or “master of roofs” is indicated in a payment

⁸⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 75v. : “E deve dare adì [blank] di novembre lire quaranta soldi xij denari vj fatti buoni per lui a Francesco di Piero Bacceglio [*chavaiuolo*] per ghiaia misse nel fondamento...”

⁹⁰ Giordano, 1991, 169: “L’escavazione per le fondamenta viene pagata a cubatura impiegando generalmente come unità di misura il “quadretto”...”

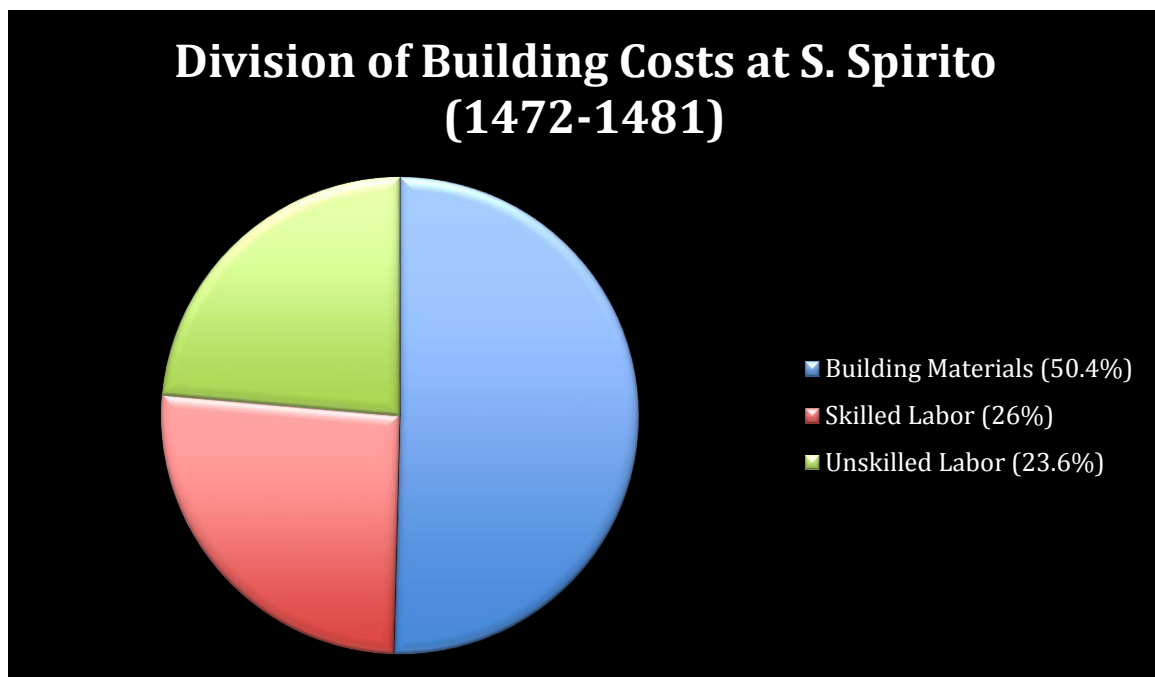
⁹¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 74v.: “E adì 2 detto [luglio 1474] fiorini due larghi paghati a Andrea di Giovanni fondatore per parte dei fondamenti fa nell’opera di Santo Spirito posto Andrea in questo libro carta 75.”

⁹² ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 20v.

⁹³ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 56v. : “E per fatica Andrea di Giovanni di Sandro fondatore per braccia x a fondo alla cisterna....”; Goldthwaite, 1980, 132: “They [*fondatori*] sometimes also dug wells.”

record from August of 1472.⁹⁴ His single monthly payment was for l. 14. In September of the same year, the already cited *bottai*o, or “barrel-maker” was also paid. On March 29, 1474, payment of one large florin is recorded to Biaggio di Piero, identified as a *carbonaio*, or “supplier of charcoal”, for “...xvi sacks of charcoal that he brought to the worksite and for the worksite.”⁹⁵ A *seghatore*, or “sawman”, was paid l. 9 s. xiiij on March 13, 1474, to saw 607 *braccia* of battens. Four spools of thread were purchased on November 8, 1474, from Francesco who is described as a *funaiuolo*, or “rope maker.”⁹⁶ Payments of l. 28 and l. 12 were made in May of 1474 and October of 1479 to two different *fabbri*, or blacksmiths.⁹⁷ A *linaiuolo*, or “linen draper”, was paid l. 3 s. 12 to *impannare* (“cover with cloth”) two windows inside the church in August of 1474.⁹⁸ These secondary workers and suppliers represent the variables of the *cantiere*. Their secondary roles reflected by the very transiency of their tenure at the worksite. Yet, they too are a fundamental part of the identity a Renaissance *cantiere*.

The Bottom Line



⁹⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 18r.

⁹⁵ ASF, CRS, 122, 127 63v. : “E adì 29 di marzo 1474 fiorini uno largho porto Biagio di Piero da Albe carbonaio per xvi sache di carboni recho nell’opera per la fabricha.”

⁹⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 64r.

⁹⁷ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 73v. and 194v.

⁹⁸ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 44v.

Over the one hundred and twelve months, or 9.3 years, of construction recorded at Santo Spirito in the *Libro* (1471-1481), the total expenditures amounted to l. 24,365 s. 12 d. 10 (or approximately 4,274 florins). This cost was almost entirely dedicated to the construction of the nave and side-aisles of the church, with the exception of the labor and material costs that went into finalizing of the crossing piers, transverse crossing arches and dome (which are also recorded in the *Libro*). If the nave of Santo Spirito is delineated by sixteen of the forty identical semicircular chapels that delineate the entire perimeter of the church (façade wall excluded), then the area of the nave constitutes approximately 40% of the total area of the church. Therefore, logically, the costs recorded in the *Libro* represent approximately 40% of the total cost of the church, and reveal that the approximate cost of the construction of the crossing area of the church, which took place between 1440-1472, had been approximately 6,412 florins. Consequently, the approximate total cost of the construction of Santo Spirito would amount to 10,686 florins. This figure is certainly not exact, but, at the very least, it gives us a much more precise idea than was previously known of the cost of building a Renaissance church in fifteenth-century Florence.⁹⁹

Such a figure is rather unimpressive when compared to the total cost of the construction of the Palazzo Strozzi, which was l. 245,299 s. 5 d. 7, or approximately 35,000 florins (including the cost of the building site) over about a fifteen-year period.¹⁰⁰ But Palazzo Strozzi is a considerably larger structure than Santo Spirito, and its construction involved an enormous expenditure for *pietra forte* stone.¹⁰¹ **(Fig. 39)** In fact, it was the largest family palace in Florence until the Pitti Palace was enlarged in the sixteenth century by the Medici dukes. Goldthwaite claims that,

⁹⁹ This figure does not also take into account the costs of the later construction of the sacristy and vestibule of the church.

¹⁰⁰ Goldthwaite, 1973, Appendix II, 189.

¹⁰¹ The total area of Santo Spirito is approximately 3,853m², while the total area of all three floors of the Strozzi Palace, excluding the courtyard space, is approximately 6,377m². These approximate areas were calculated using the architectural footprints of the buildings as viewed on the Google Earth website (<https://earth.google.com/>)

The palace was almost finished in about fifteen years of continual building activity at a cost of over 30,000 florins representing a rate of input probably unequaled by any other construction project in the city (or, for that matter, by few other industrial enterprises of any kind).¹⁰²

So, perhaps a financial comparison of the total costs for the private palace and the early Renaissance church is not the most appropriate. A more proportional and fitting comparison could be made with the contemporary, fifteenth-century Florentine Hospital of San Paolo, which was designed and built by the architect Michelozzo. **(Fig. 40)** The total expenses for the construction of the hospital during the forty-four year period between 1451 and 1495 added up to just over 9,000 florins.¹⁰³ At the more famous fifteenth-century Florentine orphanage known as the Hospital of Innocents, whose external loggia was designed and in part built by Brunelleschi, the total cost of construction over the fourteen-year period between 1419 and 1433 was 7,700 florins.¹⁰⁴ These costs are clearly much more in line with those at Santo Spirito. But, while at the Hospital of San Paolo, the annual costs for the building program were circa 200 florins, the average annual expenses of the *cantiere* at Santo Spirito between 1472 and 1481 were l. 2,619 s. 19, or approximately 459 florins, or two and half times as much.¹⁰⁵ This, in turn would break down into an average monthly expense of l. 217 s. 6, or approximately 38 florins.

One striking similarity between the financial histories of Santo Spirito and the Palazzo Strozzi is the cost distribution. At both *cantieri*, expenses were nearly evenly divided between building materials and labor expenses. At Santo Spirito, 50.4% of the total costs was for the purchase costs of building materials, while 49.6% of the cost was invested in labor. At Palazzo Strozzi, whose cost distribution includes additional factors such as the building site, building materials and equipment represent 39.3% of the total cost, while labor represented 39.1%.¹⁰⁶ But, while the overall proportion of material versus labor costs may have been similar, the cost distribution for specific building materials between the two structures varies. At Santo Spirito, brick and other clay materials represent the greatest expense amongst the building materials,

¹⁰² Goldthwaite, 1980, 167.

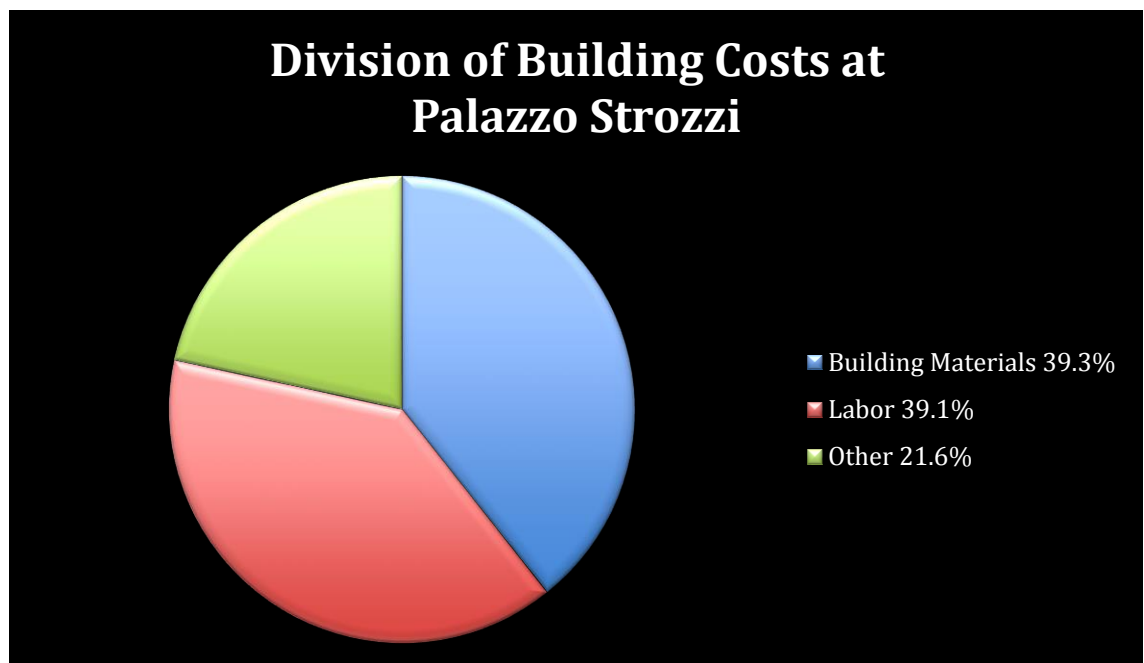
¹⁰³ Goldthwaite, 1977, 267.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Goldthwaite, 1973, Appendix II, 189.

constituting 33% of the total cost of construction. At Palazzo Strozzi, the greatest building material expense was for *pietra forte* - a material not present at the Santo Spirito *cantiere*. This durable, brown sandstone is the most typical exterior dressing for Florentine *palazzi*, and quite a bit of it was needed to face three of the four sides of the Strozzi Palace. The cost of *pietra forte* at the Palazzo Strozzi represented 10% of the total cost of the project, while brick constituted a mere 5%.¹⁰⁷ The expenses for stone at Santo Spirito (which in this case would be *pietra serena*) instead made up 11% of the total cost, while sand and gravel represented a total of 6%.



Broadly speaking, a comparative analysis of the cost of labor at the two *cantieri* also presents distinct similarities. The cost of skilled labor at Santo Spirito represented 26% of the total expenses, while at the Palazzo Strozzi it made up 20%.¹⁰⁸ Unskilled labor instead constituted 24% of the comprehensive costs at Santo Spirito, while only 15% at the Palazzo Strozzi.¹⁰⁹ It is worth noting that at both *cantieri*, comparable amounts were invested for skilled and unskilled labor - more so at Santo Spirito where there was a nearly equal distribution of cost between them. Yet, at Santo Spirito, nearly 70% of

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. Since Goldthwaite does not calculate the overall percentages of cost for specific building materials, those indicated above regarding Palazzo Strozzi are based on my own calculations.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

the cost of unskilled labor was for transportation costs, which comprehensively represented an astonishing 16% of the total cost of construction! By comparing the financial histories of the Palazzo Strozzi and Santo Spirito, we can begin to form a definitive identity of the economic reality of Renaissance *cantieri*. Regardless of the type of building or patronage, a clear financial model begins to emerge with consistent patterns of cost. The expenses of these *cantieri* were nearly equally divided between building materials - regardless of their nature - and labor. Labor expenses were, in turn, nearly equally divided between skilled and unskilled workers, and even if the overall size or cost of the *cantiere* varied, its structure remained almost invariably the same. Furthermore, the type of supplier and laborer remained consistent, and provided similar, if not the very same types of materials and labor, both of which were readily available in Renaissance Florence.

But how do the recorded costs for the construction of Santo Spirito measure up to the funds at the disposal of the *Opera*? As discussed in Chapter I, the total amount of communal funding received by the *Opera* between 1439[1440] and 1446 equaled 6,253 lire, or approximately 1,563¼ florins. As discussed in Chapter II of this text, between 1455 and 1460, ten family chapels were sold in the crossing of the church at an average price of 500 florins. The revenue from the sale of these chapels, once it was collected, would amount to 5,000 florins.¹¹⁰ This amount would be collected over a maximum period of nine years, which was the time table designated in the payment plan arranged for the Antinori, Ubertini and the family members of Lutozzo Nasi. The Nasi chapel was the last to be sold in 1460. Had payments for these chapels been made punctually, presumably, by 1469 all eleven of the chapels would have been paid for in full. It can thus be suggested that by 1469, the *Opera* would have had a total of approximately 6,563 florins at their disposal. This amount is slightly greater than the estimate provided previously in this chapter of 6,412 florins as the cost for the construction of the crossing of the church. The surplus of 151 florins would equal 0.4 years of annual construction costs during the period between 1472 and 1481, and might explain why construction had already

¹¹⁰ I am not of course including the chapel designated to bear the arms of the Commune that was presumably under the collective patronage of the *Opera*, or the chapel that was given for free to Luca Pitti.

progressed to a limited extent into the western side of the nave by the early 1470s.

Although there are no surviving records for continuous communal funding for Santo Spirito during the 1460s, it seems safe to presume that at least some communal funding was still received. The communal salt-tax appropriation of April 23, 1445 ensured the *Opera* of Santo Spirito further funding for twenty years beginning in 1449.¹¹¹ If the amounts of the appropriations received in these later years were comparable to those received in the 1440s, then, in the overall scheme of the finances at Santo Spirito, they can be considered negligible; although these communal funds had been critical in actually allowing construction to get underway in 1440. Similarly, although only a few records for the sales of the remaining thirteen crossing chapels survive, they were all eventually sold.¹¹² **(Fig. 18)** If the costs of the remaining chapels were the same as those previously sold (500 florins per chapel), with the exception of the Ridolfi chapel, which was sold for 300 florins, then the *Opera* might also have counted on an additional 6,300 florins of revenue.¹¹³ Therefore, the sale of the family chapels in the church crossing alone would theoretically have produced revenue for the *Opera* for a total sum of 11,300 florins - an amount more than sufficient (based on the total cost estimate proposed earlier in this chapter of 10,686 florins) to cover the total cost of construction.

The revenue from the sales of the twelve family chapels in the nave of the church also need also be added to this total. Although there are a total of sixteen chapel spaces in the nave, one of these spaces accommodates a door leading out of the church, while another accommodates the organ and a door leading into the sacristy vestibule, therefore neither of these chapels was sold to private patrons. **(Fig. 8, Chapels 6 & 35)** Another two of the sixteen nave chapels were donated to the Company of the Archangel Raphael (1483) and the Blessed Sisters of the Mantellate (1487) respectively.¹¹⁴ In much the same

¹¹¹ For the assignment of the salt-tax appropriation, see Chap. I, 2.

¹¹² I count thirteen chapels because the chapel designated to bear the arms of the commune was, in fact, eventually sold to the Frescobaldi family for the sum of 500 florins. For the sale of this chapel, see Chapter II, 3.

¹¹³ The Lanfredini, Ridolfi, and Segni chapels, and the third crossing chapel of the Frescobaldi, were all sold for 500 florins.

¹¹⁴ For the donation of the chapel to the Company of the Archangel Raphael on June 6, 1483, see ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 66v. For the donation of the chapel to

manner as the crossing chapels, whose sale began shortly after construction began, so too did the sale of the nave chapels correspond with the beginning of construction on this part of the church. The first of the nave chapels to be sold was to the Della Palla family in 1460, when the first crossing chapels were also sold, at a cost of 500 florins.¹¹⁵ Due to their secondary location, that is, further from the high altar of the church, the cost of the remaining nave chapels was generally less than those chapels in the crossing (and of the Della Palla chapel). Both the Dei and the Torrigiani chapels were sold at a cost of 300 florins.¹¹⁶ So if eleven of the nave chapels were sold at 300 florins, and the Della Palla chapel at 500 florins, then the total revenue eventually generated from their sale might have totaled 3,800 florins, or approximately one-third of the revenue generated from the sale of the twenty-four family chapels in the crossing.

Therefore the grand total amount of financial assets theoretically accumulated over more than a half century by the *Opera* of Santo Spirito, inclusive of both private and documented public funding, can be estimated to have been approximately 16,663 florins. Clearly, the days of financial turmoil and duress that characterized the beginnings of the project were over for the *Opera*, which now had nearly double the financial resources required to complete its church. Of course, not all of the income from chapel sales was necessarily intended for construction of the church. Over the course of the next half of a century, a new vestibule and sacristy would be added to the new church, and the adjoining convent would be almost entirely reconstructed.¹¹⁷ Nor were all the funds necessarily intended for construction. There was also

the nuns of the Mantellate on December 11, 1487, see ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 92v.

¹¹⁵ For the sale of the Della Palla chapel, see Chapter II, 2, Table 6.

¹¹⁶ For the sale of the Dei chapel, see Chapter II, 3. For the sale of the Torrigiani chapel, see ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 224r.: “E più per lro partito feciono chella chapella ultima che e dietro alla chasa di Filippo e Charlo corbinelli che la prima al’entrare in chiesa in sulla mano dritta che Tanai chiese per uno amicho suo gli sia conceduta per f. 300 dando al presente d. 20 a suo ____ ogni anno f. 10 in fino alla soma di fiorini 300” (first cited but not transcribed by Burke, 2004, 74, n. 59.) Although the name Torrigiani does not appear in the document, the description of the location of the chapel – “the first [chapel] on the right” – clearly implies the Torrigiani family chapel.

¹¹⁷ For the construction of the sacristy and vestibule, see Quinterio, 1996, 91-126; for the construction of the new cloisters in the convent, see Morolli, 1996, 151-178.

the issue of endowment to ensure masses were said in the respective family chapels, as well as the costs of maintaining the Augustinian chapter and convent.¹¹⁸

The clear financial trend that emerges from the construction history of Santo Spirito is that much of the early period of this history was preoccupied with obtaining funding - first in the communal sector and then in the private. As discussed in the previous chapter, although some of the available funding was communal, the most substantial source of income was clearly the significant revenue obtained from the sale of private family chapels. The later part of the construction history seems instead to be focused on building, and the expenditure of the available financial resources towards the end of realizing the church. By juxtaposing the costs of the church (*uscite*) with the communal and private financial resources available to the *Opera* (*entrate*), the two can be reconciled in order to obtain a complete picture of the economics of the building of Santo Spirito. Clearly, the reconciliation between the income and expenses of such a complex building project involves a significant degree of speculation through estimates, but it ultimately reveals a great deal about the financial machinations involved in the building of a Renaissance church.

2.) Building History

The records in the *Libro dei Debitori e Creditori* from 1471[1472] to 1481, of the payments to both workers and suppliers, begin on June 5, 1472, and indicate a rather unimpressive work force consisting of six men with the following names and professions:

Giovanni di Mariano (*Maestro*)
Francesco di Giovanni (*scarpellatore*)
Tommaso di Chimenti (*scarpellatore*)
Luca di Pippo (*manovale*)
Piero di Simone Massini (*renaiuolo*)
Francesco di Piero Baccegli (*cavaiuolo*)¹¹⁹

Considering that the only previously documented mention of workers at the *cantiere* during the thirty-six-year period prior to this record of 1472 consisted of

¹¹⁸ For chapel endowments, see Nelson, 2006, 353-375.

¹¹⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 18r.

two *scarpellatori* and three *capomaestri*, even a modest increase in the number of workers would suggest greater building activity.¹²⁰ But more importantly, the variety of professions recorded in the document implies that the *cantiere* had specific building objectives that required specialized workers and suppliers. Therefore, by identifying the type of and number of workers employed at the *cantiere* we can effectively deduce the type and quantity of construction actually taking place.

Giovanni da Mariano, known by the nickname *Lo Scorbacchia*, is identified as the *maestro* of the *cantiere*.¹²¹ Next to nothing is known about *Lo Scorbacchia*. His known prior experience at a major worksite was limited to the church and convent of San Bartolomeo a Monteoliveto in 1464.¹²² Although *Lo Scorbacchia* is referred to simply as *maestro*, or “master mason”, in this first payment record, in a later entry he is referred to as *capomaestro*, or “foreman.”¹²³ Therefore, he was, in all probability, serving in the later managerial position for his entire tenure at Santo Spirito. That *Lo Scorbacchia* was acting *capomaestro* of the *cantiere* as early as June of 1472 is supported by his recorded wages. During the seven-month period between June and December of 1472, he earned an average monthly salary of approximately 25 lire and 5 soldi (or about 5 florins) - a salary comparable to that of other *capomaestri* in fifteenth-century Florence.¹²⁴ Giovanni di Mariano, or *Lo Scorbacchia*, is consequently the next on the list of recorded *capomaestri* at Santo Spirito after Giovanni da Gaiole and Giuliano di Sandrino in 1461, and before them, Antonio di Manetti Ciacheri in 1459.¹²⁵ It is also possible that *Lo*

¹²⁰ For workers at the *cantiere* previous to 1472, see Chap. II, 4.

¹²¹ The nickname “Lo Scorbacchia” is confirmed in ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 17v.-“E adì 2 d’ottobre [1472] per pezzi 7 di tavole d’abeto... comperato Lo Schorbachia...”

¹²² See M. Ferrara and F. Quinterio, *Michelozzo di Bartolomeo*, Florence, 1984, 377. In 1492, *Lo Scorbacchia* would participate in the competition for the façade of Florence cathedral. See Vasari (Milanesi), 1879, IV, 308, n. 3.

¹²³ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 51v.: “Giovanni di Mariano capo maestro dell’opera deve dare lire trentanove soldi x d. iiijposto debbe avere in questo libro carta 41 _____ l.39 s. 10. d. 4”

¹²⁴ For the earnings of other *capomaestri*, see Goldthwaite, 1980, 321.

¹²⁵ See Chap. II, 4.

Scorbacchia's tenure began some time before the first recorded date of payment in the *Libro* of June 1472.¹²⁶

In addition to directing actual construction, the *capomaestro* was probably also in large part responsible for the choice of workers (both laborers and suppliers) at the *cantiere*.¹²⁷ The compact, five-man work crew, under *Lo Scorbacchia's* supervision, succinctly reflects the nature of the labor at hand. A *cavaiuolo*, or "quarryman", would be supplying stone. Considering the nature of Brunelleschi's buildings that consist of plaster-covered brick walls, and both decorative and structural architectural elements made of *pietra serena*, it is highly probable that the stone was in fact *pietra serena*.¹²⁸ After having been quarried and delivered to the worksite, the stone would need to be worked, refined and set into place. This task was the responsibility of the *scarpellatore*, or "stonecutter", of which two were present in June of 1472. The *renaiuolo*, or "supplier of sand and gravel", would provide the materials necessary for the production of mortar with which to fix the stone, and gravel with which to fill foundations. The *manovale*, or "manual laborer", who was the *factotum* of the *cantiere*, would in turn mix the mortar and provide it to the *maestro di muro*, in addition to a whole series of other varying tasks. Although the *Libro* does not specify just which part of the church was being worked on, considering that construction had hitherto been limited to the crossing area of the church, it is probable that this small work crew was applying the final architectural detailing to the same area.¹²⁹ The rather insignificant sum of 12 lire (approximately 2 florins) paid to the quarryman Francesco di Piero Bacceglio supports such a hypothesis, as he could not possibly have been providing significant quantities of stone for such a small fee.

In the subsequent monthly payment record of July 5, 1472, the size of the work crew remained relatively consistent, but with one less *scarpellatore*

¹²⁶ Quinterio (in Ferrara and Quinterio, 1984, 377) agrees with such a hypothesis: "... probabilmente quell Giovanni di Mariano detto lo Scorbacchia che sarà capomastro a Santo Spirito da prima del 1472."

¹²⁷ Goldthwaite (1977, 27) supports a "human resources" role for the *capomaestro* in his discussion of Michelozzo's responsibilities at the Ospedale di San Paolo: "His guiding hand is also to be discerned in the selection of the construction workers, both masons and stonecutters, who executed his plans."

¹²⁸ For stone materials employed in Florentine construction, see Goldthwaite, 1980, 221-223 and Rodolico, 1953. For *pietra serena*, see A. Bartolomei and F. Montanari, *Pietra Serena, material della città*, Firenze, 2008.

¹²⁹ For the state of construction of Santo Spirito by 1472, see Chap. II, 4.

and the addition of a *charrettaio*, or “carter”, and a *fornaciaio*, or “kilnman.”¹³⁰ The presence of a *fornaciaio* in the payment record indicates that clay bricks and/or tiles were being used at the *cantiere* for walling and/or roofing, (or possibly both).¹³¹ In the payment record of August 5, 1472, a *maestro dei tetti*, or “master of roofing” is listed as one of the workers in the *cantiere*, suggesting that perhaps some of the material produced by the *fornaciaio* and transported to the building site by the *charrettaio*, was in fact destined for the roof of the crossing area.¹³² Such a hypothesis is substantially confirmed by another entry dated July 21, 1472, for expenses for those “who worked the wood for the roofs.”¹³³ Another undated entry (probably from early 1473) instead records the purchase of a substantial amount of wood “for roofs and all for roofs.”¹³⁴ Yet, another payment record, dated October 30, 1473, “...to saw 622 *braccia* of roofing battens for the roofs of the chapels in the back” explicitly indicates the area being worked on was the chapels in “the back” of the crossing.¹³⁵ The nearly completed state of construction of the crossing area is further evidenced by the purchase of “small down pipes for the gutters of the chapel” and “linen cloth to line with linen (*impannare*) two of the windows in the church.”¹³⁶ That some or all of the crossing area was being roofed and refinished in the early 1470s confirms that most of that area of the church must have been completed during the previous decade, as argued in the previous chapter.

By the next payment date of September 5, 1472, the number of workers more than doubled.¹³⁷ Francesco del Corno, who is also identified as a *maestro*, but who earned less than half of his companion’s salary, now flanked *Lo Scorbacchia*. This would suggest that Del Corno was serving in a secondary *maestro di muro* position. A total of six *scarpellatori*, amongst whom is the

¹³⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 18v.

¹³¹ For brick and lime, see Goldthwaite, 1980, 171-212.

¹³² ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 18v.

¹³³ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 16v. : “E adì 21 detto [30 luglio 1472] fiorini tre Larghi chome disse a sopradetti lavorarono elegname per tetti.”

¹³⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 28v. : “...per tetti e tutto per tetti...”

¹³⁵ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 44v. : “E adì 30 ottobre [1473] per segare 622 braccia di chorrenti per i tetti delle chappelle di drieto e per frati...”

¹³⁶ ASF. CRS, 122, 127, 29r. : “E adì 19 di maggio 1473 soldi 4 sono per doccioni picholi per l’aquaio della chappella compero Berto di Lucha manovale nell’opera.” ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 44v. : “E adì [13 agosto 1474] lire 3 soldi 12 pagati Antonio di Donino linaiuolo per braccia otto di panno di lino per impannare due finestre nella chiesa si fara oggi per commissione degli operai..”

¹³⁷ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 20v. For payment record, see Appendix D.

former *capomaestro* Giovanni di Domenico da Gaiole, now swelled the ranks of the *cantiere*.¹³⁸ Additionally, two *manovali*, two *fornaciai*, three *charrettai*, and one *renaiuolo* appear in the payment record. The increased labor force could only mean increased building activity. In fact, expenses are also recorded for “strings for the saws, strings to build wall, *sinopia*, and saw handles”, as well as other materials such as “7 planks of fir wood ... to make scaffolding....”¹³⁹ An entry in the *Libro* dated September 30, 1472, records the amount due to the carter, Michele di Nanni Chori “for his labor...in transporting the columns.”¹⁴⁰ Amounts due to two other *charrettai* are also recorded on the same day for identical tasks.¹⁴¹ The columns being brought to the worksite were some or all of the five columns ordered from the quarryman Felice di Mariotto. A payment record indicates that “Felice di Mariotto and companions, quarryman in Fiesole have to receive this day November 13 [1472] lire one thousand three hundred and fifty-two and soldi 1... for 5 columns... for the working and refining of the said columns.”¹⁴² On the same day, payment for another column is recorded to a certain Tommaso di Pierone for the cost of “...lire 270 for the column and lire 33 for the refining of it.”¹⁴³ So the presence of multiple *scarpellatori* is explained by the presence of multiple columns at the *cantiere*, which would gradually need to be raised. That preparations were being made for the raising of the columns is confirmed by another entry dated September 11, 1472, which

¹³⁸ It is worth noting that Da Gaiole is identified as a *scarpellatore* in the payment record, not as a *maestro di legno* as he was previously. See Chap. II, 4.

¹³⁹ ASF. CRS, 122, 127, 17v. and 18r.- “E adì primo di settembre soldi xiiij denari 4 sono per corde per le seghe corde per murare per sinopia e per chapitegli per le seghe in tutto lire [--] soldi xiiij _____ l. – s. 14 d. 4.” ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 17v.- “E adì 2 d’ottobre [1472] per pezzi 7 di tavole d’abeto... comperato Lo Schorbachia...”

¹⁴⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 2v.- “E adì 30 detto [30 settembre 1472] lire venti et per loro a Michele di Nanni Chori charrettaio per sua fatica a servigli a chondurre le cholonne...”

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² ASF. CRS, 122, 127, 3r. (first cited by Fabriczy, 1907, 52) : “Felice di Mariotto et compagni chavaiuoli a Fiesole deono avere ad’ 13 di novembre lire milletrecentocinquantadue et soldi 1 per tanti fattogli ritenere in sullo fatto loro detto dì di lire 1715 per 5 cholonne lire 1677 e lire 33 per la lavoratione e conciaturatione delle dette cholonne da Piero Mellini et compagni...”

¹⁴³ ASF. CRS, 122, 127, 7r. (first cited by Fabriczy, 1907, 52): “Tommaso di Pierone e compagni deono avere adì xiiij di novembre 1472 lire duecento uno soldi xij denari viij fattgli ritenere in sullo stanziamento fattogli per gli operai detto dì di lire 310 cioè lire 270 per la cholonna et lire 33 per conciaturatione d’essa ...”

records the amount due to a *bottaio*, or “barrel maker”, for a certain “large bucket to lift the columns”, as well as an entry that records the presence of “our lifting hoist (*edificio*).”¹⁴⁴ At least one of these six columns was standing shortly thereafter, when an entry dated November 14, 1472, records an award of 10 soldi “given to the entire work team for drinks on the occasion of the erecting of the column brought by Salvi [d’Andrea].”¹⁴⁵

By October 1472, the number of workers was reduced to nine - the *maestro*, one *scarpellatore*, two *fornaciai*, two *chavaiuoli*, a *charrettaio*, a *renaiuolo*, and a *fondatore*, or “founder.”¹⁴⁶ The reduced number of *scarpellatori* is notable - from six the previous month down to one. Clearly, the nature of construction had changed, as less work was needed on stone, although it was still being ordered as the presence of the two *chavaiuoli* confirms. But the most significant addition to the work force was the presence of a *fondatore*, which clearly signifies that further foundations were being laid. Since the entirety of the crossing area was most probably near completion, and the half of the western side of the nave closest to the crossing was already underway, it is likely that foundations were being laid for the remainder of the western side of the nave wall, extending south towards the eventual facade.¹⁴⁷

(Fig. 41)

After the foundations were excavated, they would need to be filled with gravel and set. An entry from November 1474, indicates that the gravel was purchased from a *cavaiuolo* who “... must give, this day [blank] of November lire forty soldi xij denari vj... to Francesco di Piero Baccegli for gravel placed in the foundations...”¹⁴⁸ A *charrettaio*, or “carter”, was employed to deliver the gravel

¹⁴⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 17v.- “E adì 11 detto [settembre 1472] lire uno per uno bigonciuolo grande da tirare su la colonna comperato Salvi da Baccio di Giovanni bottaio” and ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 28v. : “E adì detto [15 maggio 1473] lire uno soldi iiij sono per braccia xij di tavole di chatagnio vechie per mettere e confichare nella ruota del nostro edificio per tirare su.” For the lifting or ox-hoist, see P. Galluzzi, *La Mente di Leonardo: Nel laboratorio del Genio Universale*, Florence, 2006, 176.

¹⁴⁵ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 18r.- “E adì detto [14 novembre 1472] soldi dieci dati a tutta la bichata per bere per chasione del rizzare della cholonna porto Salvi

¹⁴⁶ My use of the term “founder” (as in “one who digs foundations”) for *fondatore* is borrowed from Goldthwaite, 1980, 132.

¹⁴⁷ For the progression of construction up to 1470 based on chapel types, see Chap. II, 3.

¹⁴⁸ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 75v. : “E de dare adì [blank] di novembre lire quaranta soldi xij denari vj fatti buoni per lui a Francesco di Piero Baccegli per ghiaia

to the worksite - "Ghoro di Bugia and associates must give, this day September 27 [1475] one large florin to Michele Chori said *charrettaio* for gravel delivered for the foundation above ground (*sopera terra*)."¹⁴⁹ The gravel was mixed with mortar and set into large wooden forms - "one large florin are to pay for 288 *braccia* of large planks for the large foundation."¹⁵⁰ Once the foundations had set and the wooden forms removed, a brick wall could be extended atop the new foundation, eventually completing the exterior nave wall on the western side of the church. The bricks necessary for the completion of the perimeter wall had most likely begun arriving at the worksite right around the time that work on the remaining western nave foundations began. As early as September 1472, when the *fondatore* is first recorded as continuing the foundations, two *fornaciai*, or "kilnmen" and three *charrettai* are indicated in the payroll of the *Opera*, the latter workman responsible for the transportation of the material provided by the former.¹⁵¹ Some of this brick was probably also being used to complete that first half of the nave wall that was begun in the earlier building campaign between 1446 and 1471.¹⁵² Clearly, by the winter of 1472, construction was finally progressing in a significant manner into the nave, as workers focused on extending and completing the entire western nave wall.

The size of the *cantiere* would more than double between November and December 1472, from seven to fifteen workers.¹⁵³ By January 1473, it would nearly double again to a total of 27 workers including:

14 *scarpellatori*
 7 *manovali*
 2 *maestri*
 2 *charrettai*
 1 *fornaciaio*
 1 *renaiuolo*¹⁵⁴

misse nel fondamento...." Bacceglio is identified as a *cavaiuolo* in the payment record of August 5, 1472.

¹⁴⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 110r. : "Ghoro di Bugia et compagni deono dare adì 27 settembre fiorini uno largo Michele Choro charrataio detto per pagati della ghiaia rechono per fondamento sopra terra."

¹⁵⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 103r. : "E insino adì 23 d'aghosto fiorini uno larga sono per paghare di braccia 288 di piane grosse pel fondamento grande...."

¹⁵¹ See above, n. 137

¹⁵² For discussion of the construction of the first western nave chapels, see Chap. II, 4,

¹⁵³ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 33v.

¹⁵⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 35v.

Such a labor-heavy work force, with the presence of only two suppliers recorded, suggests a rather labor-intensive worksite. That more than half of the workers were *scarpellatori* would also suggest that working stone was again the task at hand. The *scarpellatori*, with the assistance of the *manovali*, were in all probability completing the first half of the western nave wall that was begun in the earlier period of construction and gradually dressing it with architectural elements made of *pietra serena*.

The payment record of February 5, 1473 indicates an even larger *cantiere* of thirty-two workers consisting of:

11 *scarpellatori*
10 *manovali*
4 *charrettai*
2 *maestri*
2 *fornaciai*
2 *renaiuoli*
1 *fondatore*¹⁵⁵

Transporters and suppliers had doubled in number, while stonecutters and laborers remained approximately consistent in number from the previous month. Both materials and labor (both skilled and non) were in high demand as the foundations moved further southward, and subsequently, so too did the exterior nave wall. That construction was focused on the western nave wall is further confirmed by a payment record several months later to the *capomaestro*, *Lo Scorbacchia* (Giovanni di Mariano) "...for the construction of the high wall above the first cloister..."¹⁵⁶ Although it is not clear just exactly at which level this "high wall" was being built, it was clearly in proximity of the convent cloister that was located to the west of the church.¹⁵⁷ **(Fig. 1)** This flurry of building activity between November 1472 and February 1473 most probably suggests a concerted effort on the part of the *cantiere* to finally complete the western side of the nave.

¹⁵⁵ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 39v.

¹⁵⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 40v. : "E adì 24 di luglio 1473 lire sessanta per tanti fatti loro ritenere in sullo stanziamento fatto detto dì di lire sessanta a Giovanni di Mariano maestro per del faciatura del muro alto sopra'l primo chiostro ..."

¹⁵⁷ For the old convent of Santo Spirito, see F. Facchinetti, "Firenze: Convento di Santo Spirito, Esegesi di un centro culturale religioso", *Castra et ars: Palazzi e quartieri di valore architettonico dell'Esercito Italiano*, Bari, 1987, 149-162.

With the western perimeter wall nearing completion, the *cantiere* now turned its attention to the corresponding nave columns that would run parallel with this wall. An entry dated May 22, 1473, records a payment to the quarryman, Felice di Mariotto "... for the working of columns."¹⁵⁸ These are presumably some of the same five columns discussed earlier, which were receiving their final touches. In fact, only a few days later, the western nave columns were actually being raised. On May 29, 1473, the *Libro* records expenses "... for 4 flasks of white wine to be drunk when the column in front of the *scriptorium* is erected."¹⁵⁹ This column, presumably raised a short time afterward, was most likely the second column at the northern end of the nave as it is described as being "in front of the scriptorium", which structure was part of the original convent complex that was located to the west of the new church. Consequently, the aforementioned column that was "brought by Salvi" and erected earlier in November of 1472 was most probably the first column in the western side of the nave of the church, adjacent to and aligned with this second nave column. **(Fig. 41)** Within a week, more wine was purchased for the raising of the next nave column, "... for drinking when the second column, third in the order of the nave, is raised."¹⁶⁰ Then within a month, more wine was purchased "...for drinking when the fourth column is raised."¹⁶¹ Finally, further wine was purchased twelve days later "...for all the workers of the opera for drinking at the raising of the fifth column of the nave."¹⁶² With all of the wine being consumed at the worksite, it is a small wonder that the columns are standing straight! In fact another entry records the expense for "...4 spools of string... to

¹⁵⁸ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 36v. : Felice di Mariotto et compagni a Fiesole deono dare adì 22 maggio 1473 fiorini tre larghi porto Felice et compagni in sul lavorare delle cholonne che anno avere per ogni colonna per detto lire quaranta"

¹⁵⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 29r. : "E adì 29 detto [maggio 1473] per 4 fiaschi di vino bianco e altro per beveraggio quando si rizzo la cholonna di rimpetto allo scriptoio"

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. : "E adì detto [giugno 1473] lire uno soldi due per beveraggio quando si rizzo la seconda colonna terza nell'ordine della nave"

¹⁶¹ Ibid. : "E adì 5 detto [luglio 1473] lire uno a tutta la bichata per beveraggio quando si rizzo la quarta colonna"

¹⁶² Ibid. : "E adì 17 detto [luglio 1473] lire uno soldi due detti a tutti I lavoratori dell'opera per beveraggio del rizzare la quinta colonna nella nave"

measure all of the columns of the opera.”¹⁶³ Presumably the progression of nave columns followed the progression of the completion of the exterior nave wall, indicating that by July 1473, when the fifth nave column was put in place, much of this wall was near completion. **(Fig. 42)** Column capitals would be set into place shortly thereafter, as indicated by payment records of August of 1473 and March of 1474.¹⁶⁴

Following the particularly large *cantieri* of January and February of 1473, the average size of the monthly workforce for the remainder of the year dwindled to about thirteen workers.¹⁶⁵ The presence of the *capomaestro* was constant, although the second *maestro* was employed only four times over the ten-month period. The general number of skilled and unskilled laborers would also vary over the subsequent months. An average of about three *scarpellatori* were employed each month, with as many as seven in July (while the four nave columns were being raised), and with no *scarpellatori* present at the *cantiere* in August and December. A monthly average of nearly two *manovali* were also employed, as well as the aforementioned *fondatore* whose presence is recorded in March, and then continuously over the summer months of June, July and August. The transportation of materials to and from the worksite was seen to by the average of between two and three *charrettai* per month.

Building material suppliers are also consistently recorded in the payments of this ten-month period of 1473. Brick was provided by an average of at least one *fornaciaio*, while sand and gravel by an average of one *renaiuolo*. Stone was being furnished by an average of nearly two *chavaiuoli*. The stone presumably came in various forms. Although the documents specifically mention columns, capitals and gravel as being provided by the quarryman, it is logical to presume that they were also providing the stone for the architectural dressing of the building. Other less important suppliers are not

¹⁶³ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 64r. : “E adì 8 di novembre per 4 matassine di spagho comperato da Francesco funaiuolo per fare misurare tutte le colonne ____ dell’opera.”

¹⁶⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 44r. : “E adì detto [7 agosto 1473] lire tre soldi dodici a Piero di Cecho per resto dello chapitello posto” and ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 62r. (First cited in Fabriczy, 1907, 52.) : “Piero di Checo del Pian di Mugnone deve avere adì 22 marzo 1473 [1474] lire quarantaquattro sono per tanti fattogli ritenere da Piero Mellini per uno stanziamento fattogli detto di per gli operai roghato Ser Francesco Sini sono per factura e mercie d’uno chapitello a chompiuto nell’opera ...”

¹⁶⁵ For size of workforce in 1473, see Appendix D.

specifically mentioned in the monthly payment records, but do appear in the daily expense records of the *provveditore*. A payment of 1 florin is recorded to a certain Biagio di Piero, who is identified as a *carbonaio*, or “supplier of charcoal for “...xvi sacks of charcoal brought to the opera for the worksite.”¹⁶⁶ The charcoal was a vital material for the furnaces of the smiths (*fabbri*) of the *cantiere* and the maintenance of the tools of the workers, particularly the stone-cutting tools of the *scarpellatori*.¹⁶⁷ So although the size of the *cantiere* was more than halved after the first two months of 1473, the consistent presence of laborers and suppliers reflect a steady and continuous progression of construction in, as the documents clearly specify, the western side of the nave.

It seems that workers were also employed in completing the unfinished areas of the crossing. An entry in the *Libro* from November 1473 records a payment of “... two lire and 10 soldi paid to Guisto di Nanni and to Domenico di Meo di San Gaggio, which are for 5 working days in which they worked to make the wall of the Biliotti chapel.”¹⁶⁸ The implications of this detail are very significant. The Biliotti chapel is located in the eastern side of the southern arm of the crossing and is a type “C” chapel. (**Fig. 33, Chapel 24**) As previously discussed in Chapter II, the type “C” chapel is semi-circular in shape from its foundations to a height of three meters, but then transforms into a polygonal shape. This polygonal form of the chapel would facilitate its enclosing within the rectilinear wall that was built once the decision was made to abandon Brunelleschi’s plan of an undulating exterior wall defined by the extruding curvilinear exteriors of the chapels.¹⁶⁹ So if the upper part of the wall of the Biliotti chapel (type “C” chapel) was realized in November 1473 in a polygonal form, it would imply that the decision to enclose all the chapels within a mantling wall had already been made.

¹⁶⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 63v. : “E adi 29 di marzo 1474 fiorini uno largho porto Biagio di Piero da Albe carbonaio per xvi sacha di carboni recho nell’opera per la fabricha”

¹⁶⁷ For smelting materials, see J. Blair and N. Ramsey, *English Medieval Industries*, New York and London, 1991.

¹⁶⁸ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 45r. : “ E insino del mese di novembre lire due soldi 10 pagati a Guisto di Nanni e a Domenico di Meo di San Ghagio sono per opere 5 lavorono afare il muro dalla chappella di Bilotti a soldi X il dì.”

¹⁶⁹ For discussion of Brunelleschi’s original intention for the exterior of the church, see Chap. I, 3.

The Mantling Wall

I believe we can confidently establish that the decision to abandon Brunelleschi's original plan of semi-circular chapels extruding to the exterior of the church was made sometime in 1473, while construction was focused on the western nave wall.¹⁷⁰ Further evidence for such a conclusion is found in the very nature of the structure that was being built. The first four chapels in the western half of the nave (closest to the crossing) are all of the type "B" category - that is, entirely semi-circular in shape with no external molding. The remaining four chapels of the western nave wall (closest to the façade) are instead of the type "D" category - that is, entirely polygonal in shape on the exterior (semi-circular on the interior) with no exterior moldings. **(Fig. 31)** Chapels whose exteriors were entirely polygonal in shape would not only be more convenient to enclose within a rectilinear wall, but would inevitably prevent external visibility for any of the chapels because of the resulting variety of the exterior shapes of the chapels - some semi-circular, others polygonal. That the variation from semi-circular to polygonal chapels begins exactly half way down the western nave wall moving from the crossing towards the façade, a wall that was being constructed in the winter months of 1473-1474, would appear to offer proof that the decision to enclose all of the chapels was made at the same time. Once this decision was made, those unfinished type "C" chapels in the crossing that had been begun in a semi-circular form during the first period of construction (1446-1471), were subsequently completed in a polygonal shape during this later phase (1471-1487), to better accommodate an exterior, rectilinear enclosing wall. Likewise, once this decision was made, the remaining four chapels of the western nave wall, and most likely all of those of the eastern nave wall, would be entirely constructed in a polygonal form. These remaining chapels were all constructed or completed after the decision was made in 1473 to construct a mantling wall.

That the mantling wall was not yet constructed by 1470, in at least the crossing area of the church, is confirmed in a previously unknown document dated June 15, 1470, recording the sale of a garden behind Santo Spirito to a certain Francesco di Guido Mannelli:

¹⁷⁰ Both Battisti (1981, 147), and Saalman (1993, 364) maintain that the mantling wall had been constructed by 1469.

... [To him] is conceded much of that garden... behind the new church where he has his house... to the said Francesco di Guido Mannelli and his heirs a piece of the said garden behind the 4 chapels... on the condition that said Francesco can not build a wall, or encroach upon the walls of the said church for a space of three *braccia*, nor build any structures...¹⁷¹

The fact that the document indicates that the garden sold was both “behind the 4 chapels” and “behind the church” strongly suggests that the exteriors of the chapels of the northern arm of the church were still visible. If the mantling wall had already been constructed, the document would most likely have described the garden as “behind the wall.” Furthermore, the fact that Mannelli was prohibited from encroaching upon the “walls” (*le mura*), and not the “wall” (*il muro*) of the church clearly suggests that multiple chapel walls were still visible.

While nearly all of the scholarship concerning Santo Spirito claims that Antonio di Manetti Ciaccheri was responsible for this drastic decision, Quinterio instead suggests that it was either Guiliano di Sandrino or Domenico da Gaiole, both of whom had served as *capomaestri* in the early 1460s, who was responsible.¹⁷² Quinterio writes,

It is not improbable that the execution of one of the first misinterpretations of the integrity of the project: in this case the erection of a continuous wall - known as a *ricignimento* (“enclosing wall”) destined to obscure the theory of semi-circular niche chapels, visible from the exterior took place during one of these tenures. That is, an expedient adopted to simplify the more complex operations of the *cantiere*, whose usage would certainly not have improved... the stability of the building.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 88, 392r. : “...fusse concesso tanto di quello orto...dietro della nuova chiesa tanto quanto tiene la sua casa... concedono al detto Francesco di Guido Mannelli e al sue rede un pezzo di orto detto di sopra dietro alle 4 cappelle... con quello che il detto Francesco non possa fare muro, e accostarsi apresso alle mura di detta chiesa per spatio di braccia tre, ne alcuno edificio fare.”

¹⁷² For those scholars who identify Antonio di Manetti Ciaccheri as the *capomaestro* responsible for the decision of enclosing the semi-circular chapels, see Chap. II, 3.

¹⁷³ Quinterio, “Il Cantiere...”, 1996, 92: “Non è improbabile che risalga a uno di questi mandati, l’esecuzione di uno dei primi travisamenti opposti all’integrità del progetto: in questo caso l’erezione del muro continuo destinato ad occultare la teoria di nicchie cappelle semicircolare, visibili all’esterno - conosciuto com “ricignimento”- vale a dire un espediente adottato per semplificare le operazioni

The building activity of the *cantiere* in 1473, combined with the specific chapel types constructed at the church, would definitively exonerate any of the former *capomaestri* - Antonio di Manetti Ciaccheri, Guiliano da Sandrino, Domenico da Gaiole - from any responsibility concerning the decision to abandon Brunelleschi's plan, and would instead lay the responsibility on the then acting *capomaestro* Giovanni di Mariano (*Lo Scorbacchia*). In fact, perhaps the reason that Manetti (the biographer) did not identify the person liable for the "errors made and consented to" in his biography of Brunelleschi was because he did not have to.¹⁷⁴ Since Manetti and *Lo Scorbacchia* were contemporaries, and the mantling wall was built just a few years before Brunelleschi's biography was written, it was most likely common public knowledge just who was responsible for directing the enclosing of the chapels - that is, the acting *capomaestro* *Lo Scorbacchia*.

In his monograph on Brunelleschi, Saalman proposed that the motivation for the construction of the mantling wall was the inadequate burial space for chapel patrons within their very chapels: "the decisive factor in the decision to construct the mantling wall may well have been the unsuitability of the semi-circular chapels for the most important function of patronage: adequate burial space."¹⁷⁵ Paradoxically, while there are many more family funerary chapels in Santo Spirito than in all of the other churches in Florence, the dimensions of the chapels in Santo Spirito are considerably smaller, and therefore allow for both less ornamentation and burial space. So, Saalman theorizes that once the mantling wall was constructed, patrons could exploit the intervening spaces between the chapel and mantling walls as additional burial space. Saalman most likely drew this conclusion based on the well-known episode when, in 1488, the grandsons of one of the original *operai*, Neri di Gino Capponi requested permission to break through the wall of their chapel in order to provide adequate space for their ancestor's tomb: "...to break the wall of their chapel, and to place there a grate of bronze or brass so that the sarcophagus

più complesse di cantiere, il cui impiego non avrebbe di certo migliorato (sempre che se ne fosse presentato il problema) la stabilità dell'edificio."

¹⁷⁴ Manetti (Saalman), 126.

¹⁷⁵ Saalman, 1993, 364.

(l'archa) of Neri is visible.”¹⁷⁶ **(Fig. 32)** This example would suggest that patrons may also have been concerned about sufficient room in which to display their tombs as well.

Although Saalman's theory is quite logical, it is contradicted by the chronology of construction. By the fall of 1473, when the decision to build the mantling wall was made, although certain chapels had been assigned to certain patrons (almost exclusively in the crossing of the church), the practice of burial could not possibly have yet begun. Santo Spirito would only be consecrated and officiated eight years later in May of 1481. It is not likely that any Christian would want to be buried in unconsecrated ground, even less so a Christian who had invested a considerable sum of money specifically to be buried inside of his consecrated quarter church. In other words, although some of the chapel patrons in Santo Spirito may have been suspicious of the eventual problem of inadequate burial space, it would not be until the actual practice of in-church burial began at Santo Spirito, that their suspicions would become reality. The mantling wall became an inadvertent and partial solution to the problem, allowing a limited amount of additional burial space. This would explain why the request of the Capponi to break through the chapel occurred fifteen years after the decision to build the mantling wall was made, and seven years after the church was consecrated.

Quinterio is most likely correct in assuming that the decision to abandon the semicircular chapels was instead motivated in part by the intent “...to simplify the more complex operations of the *cantiere*.”¹⁷⁷ In other words, perhaps both the *Opera* and the *cantiere* had finally succumbed to the realization that to complete the church according to Brunelleschi's intentions would have required considerable time. These beautiful, but complex “intentions” might even in part explain why it had required four decades in order to complete just the crossing area of the church. Perhaps concerned by the notion that the realization of the nave would require almost as much time, the *Opera*, in collaboration with the *capomaestro*, and therefore with the *cantiere* as well, began looking for ways to expedite construction, even at the cost of

¹⁷⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 96r. : “...rompere il muro della loro chapella, e mettervi uno graticholo di bronzo overo d'ottone che si vedesse l'archa della sepoltura di Neri.” First cited by Kent, 1977, 104, n. 184.

¹⁷⁷ Quinterio, 1996, 92: “... per semplificare le operazioni più complessi di cantiere.”

sacrificing Brunelleschi's extraordinary vision for the church. One of these ways was to substitute the construction of an undulating exterior wall with a much simpler rectilinear wall. Most likely the patience of the chapel patrons was running thin, since after decades of construction and payment they were still faced with unpracticable chapels. Therefore, ultimately the blame for the decision would not and could not have been *Lo Scorbacchia's* alone, but instead the result of both the *Opera*, most of whose members were chapel patrons, and the *cantiere* acting together. Such decisions are of course not unusual in construction. Considering the probable motivation, the decision to abandon the exterior semicircular chapels ultimately paid off, as the nave and façade of the church were completed within only thirteen years, or less than half of the time that it took to complete the crossing area of the church. So while the immediate chapel patrons would have been content with the practical thought that their church would be completed sooner, *connoisseurs* of architecture, beginning with Manetti (the biographer) himself, will forever lament what was lost in terms of innovative design.

Completion of the Western Nave Wall and Colonnade

Not surprisingly, even after having made such a drastic change to the original design of Santo Spirito, construction progressed as usual at the *cantiere*. The payment records for the initial three months of 1474 indicate a rather modest *cantiere* with an average of nearly eight total monthly workers. In fact, both *maestri* were absent for the months February and March. By contrast, the spring and summer months of 1474 were particularly active periods of construction with the average size of the *cantiere* between April and August at approximately 18 workers, and a monthly mean of about seven *scarpellatori*, three *manovali* and one or more suppliers and carters. Column capitals were being prepared for the columns already standing in the nave. Entries in the *Libro* dated February 22 and June 18, 1474, record payment to "...Piero di Cecho and to Tommaso di Chimenti for their account of two capitals..." and to "...Matteo di Jacopo da Settignano for the capital he is working."¹⁷⁸ Construction also continued on the western nave wall as stones

¹⁷⁸ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 65v. : "E deono dare adì 22 detto lire ottantanove fatti loro ritenere per conto di Piero de' Rossi in sullo stanziamento fatto detto a Piero

were purchased "...to place and wall up", and consistent payments were being made to at least one *fornaciaio* for bricks and a *renaiuolo* for sand.¹⁷⁹ Preparations were also being made for the columns necessary to complete the nave colonnades. On April 6, 1474, a partial payment was made to "...Piero di Francesco Bozzolini and associates from Fiesole for the ten columns, which they are to deliver to the opera."¹⁸⁰ But perhaps most importantly, a *fondatore* is consistently recorded in the payment records for the five-month period between June and October 1474. So while the construction was being finalized on the western half of the nave, some or all of the foundations were most likely being laid for the eastern nave wall.

Between September and December 1474, the size of the *cantiere* decreased slightly to an average of 13.5 workers. Curiously, both *maestri* were absent until *Lo Scorbacchia* reappeared in the December payment record. Over this four-month period, *scarpellatori* made up an average of half of the work force. This was likely due to the fact that by the fall of 1474, the ten columns mentioned above gradually began arriving at the *cantiere*. A payment record dated October 29, 1474 indicates that a single column had arrived to the worksite.¹⁸¹ Less than two weeks later, further payment was made for "...two columns which they sent to the opera..."¹⁸² By March of 1475, preparations were being made to erect the columns. An entry dated March 9, 1475, records expenses for the purchase "...of soap to lubricate the pulleys for the business of the column" and for "...offering drink to the whole worksite when the column brought by Salvi is raised", which it probably was a short time after.¹⁸³ This was

di Cecho e Tommaso di Chimenti per loro conto di due chapitegli di febbraio 1473" and ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 74v. : "E adì detto [18 giugno 1474] fiorini Quattro larghi a Matteo di Jacopo da Settignano in sul chapitello lavora nell'opera..."

¹⁷⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 63v. : "...per le pietre a mettere e murare..." For worker/supplier payments in 1474, see Appendix D.

¹⁸⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 66r. : "E adì 6 detto [aprile 1474] lire cento paghorono a Piero di Francesco Bozzolini e compagni da Fiesole in sulle x colonne anno a chondurre nell'opera..."

¹⁸¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 84r. : "E adì detto [ottobre 1474] fiorini seidici larghi paghato a Piero di Francesco Bozzolini in sulla colonna posto..."

¹⁸² ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 83v. : "E adì detto [10 novembre 1474] lire centoventisei per tanti ritenno per conto di Piero de' Rossi in sullo stanziamento fatto detto di di lire 150 a Piero Bozzolini et Felice di Mariotto in sulle due cholonne anno mandato nell'opera ..."

¹⁸³ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 88v. : "E adì 9 di marzo soldi 3 denari iiij ebbe Salvi per comperare sapone per charruncholonne per ungerli al fatto della cholonna" ; "E

the penultimate of the seven western nave columns, and in all probability reflects the extent to which the western nave wall was completed by the spring of 1475.

The average size of the *cantiere* in 1475 was just under thirteen workers and suppliers. Again, *scarpellatori* made up a majority of the workforce with a monthly average of just less than five. Building materials were supplied by a consistent employment of at least one *fornaciaio* and *renaiuolo*, and for half the year, a *cavaiuolo*. Carters were particularly busy transporting these materials in June, July and October, with as many as four *charretai* employed simultaneously. A *fondatore* was also employed during January and August. His efforts had most likely now turned to laying the final foundations for the façade wall, or the *fondamento grande*. (Fig. 43) A payment record for wood for the frames of the foundations specifically indicate the areas where the foundations were being laid:

And until this day, August 23, 1475, one large florin are to pay for 288 *braccia* of large wooden planks for the large foundation and for 6 [of the large planks] will be made 40 [smaller] planks and for 69 battens, 3 *braccia* each for the foundations on the side to make them even¹⁸⁴

Just one week later, on August 31, the *fondatore*, Andrea di Giovanni di Sandro, was paid “for part of the large foundation.”¹⁸⁵

As this final foundation was laid, both the *Opera* and the *cantiere* must have felt confident about the completion of their church (which had been under construction for nearly four decades) in the not so distant future. In fact, on July 21, 1475, a payment was made to a certain Jacopo di Pintore “...for the decoration of the arms of the people, that is of the commune of Florence.”¹⁸⁶

adì detto soldi 10 per dare bere alla bichata quando rizzarono la cholonna posto Salvi d'Andrea.”

¹⁸⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 103r. : “E insino adì 23 d'aghosto fiorini uno larga sono per paghare di braccia 288 di piane grosse pel fondamento grande e per 6 faranno piane 40 e per 69 chorrenti di braccia 3 l'uno pel fondamento alato per reaghuagliarlo...”

¹⁸⁵ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 105r. : “E adì 31 d'aghosto fiorni 12 larghi ad Andrea di Giovanni di Sandro fondatore per parto del fondamento grande...”

¹⁸⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 104v. : “Eadì [21 luglio 1475] fiorini Quattro larghi ritemmo per conto di Piero de'Rossi a Jacopo di Pintore contanti gli furono stanziati detto per ornare l'arme del popolo e cioè di commune di Firenze posto Jacopo debba avere”

So it would appear that the intent of the *Opera* to honor the commune, which had been explicitly demonstrated in 1459 with the designation of a chapel in the northern crossing arm of the church to bear the arms of the commune, was still very much alive.¹⁸⁷ Although the *Libro* record does not indicate the intended location for the arms of the people, it is logical that the previously assigned chapel was most likely still their destination.

Other entries in the *Libro* from the same period (summer 1475) record payment "...to Jacopo di Lorenzo di Settignano for the rest of the capital that he is working", and to "...Piero di Francesco Bozzolini and Felice di Mariotto from Fiesole to bring the column."¹⁸⁸ So as the standing columns were being crowned with their respective capitals, additional columns were arriving to the worksite and waiting to take their place within the nave. Another milestone was reached on November 7, 1475, when the colonnade on the western side of the nave was finally completed (**Fig. 42**):

And this day 7 of the said month [November 1475] for drinking for all the master stonecutters because the final column on the side of the cloister has been finally raised [and for] 3 *libbra* of sausage soldi 6, 4 flasks of wine soldi 10, and for 10 large loaves of bread soldi 11.¹⁸⁹

The atmosphere must have been festive as both food and drink were now being provided, but in this case, only for the *scarpellatori*. This probably suggests that they were mainly, if not entirely, responsible for the erecting of the columns. Furthermore, if the event being celebrated was the raising of the last column of the western side of the nave, then the exclusive nature of the celebration presents a precise description of one of the specific responsibilities of the *scarpellatore* - that is, the erection of columns.

¹⁸⁷ For the chapel designated to bear the arms of the commune, see Chap. II, 2.

¹⁸⁸ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 105r. : "E adì [11agosto 1475] fiorini tre larghi pagho a Jacopo di Lorenzo di Settignano per resto del chapitello lavora posto debba dare" and "E adì 14 detto [agosto 1475] fiorini otto larghi a Piero di Francesco Bozzolini et Felice di Mariotto da Fiesole per portare della cholonna..."

¹⁸⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 106v. : "E adì 7 detto [novembre 1475] per beverage a tutti maestri schapellini che s'rizzo l'ultima cholonna del lato del chiostro libbra 3 di salsiccia soldi 6 4 fiaschi di vino soldi 10 e per 10 pani grandi soldi 11."

Almost as soon as this last column was put in place, anxious for a preview of their completed church, the *Opera* commissioned the making of façade models. A previously unknown record in the *Libro* from November of 1475 is described as “Expenditures and money given to various people to make the models of the wall and face and doors of the end of the building and church of Santo Spirito...”¹⁹⁰ The first model was designed by the *capomaestro* himself, Giovanni di Mariano, and was to be realized by the woodcutter Jacopo di Biagio.¹⁹¹ The second, and slightly more expensive, model was designed by the *scarpellatore/capomaestro dello scarpello* Salvi d’Andrea, and also executed by a woodcutter.¹⁹² A third, and even more expensive model, was to be designed and executed by an outsider to the *cantiere*, the *legnaiuolo* Domenico da Prato.¹⁹³ Although no descriptions of the models are recorded, little did the *Opera* know at this time that one of these models would eventually stir up the most important controversy regarding the final appearance of the church.¹⁹⁴ In fact, the citywide controversy that would later surround the construction of the façade wall of Santo Spirito (which shall be discussed later) is one of the best known and documented aspects of the church’s construction history. The issue of the debate was just exactly how many doors should be incorporated into the façade - three or four. Those supporters of the four-door solution for the facade, including Vittorio Ghiberti, son of the famed goldsmith Lorenzo, and Giuliano da Sangallo, the celebrated architect, maintained that such a solution reflected Brunelleschi’s original intentions. Yet, if the *Opera*

¹⁹⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 111v. : “Spese et denari dati a più persone per fare e modoli del muro et faccia et porte del fine dell’edificio et chiesa di Santo Spirito deono dare chome...”

¹⁹¹ Ibid. : “E adì 9 detto [novembre 1475] fiorini uno larghi a Jacopo di Biagio _____ maestro di legname per fare il modello di Giovanni di Mariano maestro...”

¹⁹² Ibid. : “ E adì 30 detto [novembre 1475] lire otto soldi xvij paghati Jacopo fabbro et maestro Filippo di Francesco legnaiuolo per modello di Salvi d’Andrea.”

¹⁹³ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 114r. : “E adì 2 detto [dicembre 1475] fiorini due larghi paghato a maestro Domenicho da Prato legnaiuolo per fare un modello del fine di dentro e di fuori alla chiesa di Santo Spirito...”

¹⁹⁴ For comparative costs of models for other types of structures in Renaissance Florence, see Goldthwaite, 1977, 294, n. 117: Giuliano da Sangallo’s late fifteenth-century model for the Palazzo Strozzi cost 19 florins, while Antonio da Sangallo’s sixteenth-century model for the Loggia of the Servites cost 21 florins.

was commissioning several façade models from various *maestri*, it would seem that Brunelleschi had not left behind any clear indication as to just what those intentions were. Multiple models would also suggest that the *Opera* was prepared to consider various solutions. Documentation that shall be discussed later in this chapter reveals that only one of the above models incorporated a four-door solution, and it was the one created by the then acting *capomaestro*, *Lo Scorbacchia*. So while he may have been responsible for one of the major alterations to Brunelleschi's original plan for semi-circular chapels extruding around the entire exterior perimeter of the church (perhaps even the façade), he appears to be the only designer to attempt to express Brunelleschi's alleged original intentions for the façade.

Completion of the Eastern Nave Wall and Colonnade

As the western side of the nave neared completion, and preparations were already underway for the eventual completion of the interior and exterior façade, the *cantiere* now focused its efforts on the completion of the remaining eastern side of the nave. An entry from the *Libro*, dated December 1, 1475, records the payment "...to Simone del Chaprina, quarryman of the *Opera*, and those [monies] are given for the 6 columns he has to make for the *Opera*..."¹⁹⁵ Considering that there are a total of sixteen columns in the nave of Santo Spirito, if we presume that all ten of the previously discussed columns ordered from the *cavaiuolo*, Piero di Francesco Bozzolini, were intended for the nave of the church, then these six columns would represent the final columns necessary to complete the nave colonnades.

In 1476, the average size of *cantiere* was reduced to eleven workers. Although *Lo Scorbacchia* was present for the entire year in the role of *capomaestro*, his monthly salary had been reduced to an average of 14.67 lire from an average of 25 lire per month over his first seven recorded months of service in 1472. This significant decline in salary had actually already begun in April 1475. Perhaps as the nave walls were completed, there was less need of or responsibility for a *maestro di muro*. Over the course of the year, an average

¹⁹⁵ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 114r. : "E adì detto [1 dicembre 1475] lire duecento paghato a Simone del Chaprina chavaiuolo dell'opera e quelli gli si danno in sulle 6 colonne affare per l'opera..."

of 3.4 *scarpellatori* were present, even though no *cavaiuoli* were recorded. Although no stone was being supplied, brick and sand were being delivered to worksite, with one or more *fornaciai* and *renaiuoli* consistently present throughout the year. The amount of brick and sand being transported must have been considerable as an average of nearly three *charrettai* were employed monthly; but now the responsibilities of the carters not only included transporting building materials to the worksite, but also the removal of unnecessary materials. An entry dated February 24, 1476, records the payment to "...Simone d'Aghostino *charrettaio* for the removal of rubble from the via di Borgo Tegholaio."¹⁹⁶ As the street of Borgo Tegolaio runs along the eastern side of the church, by February of 1476, construction was clearly underway on this same side of the church. That clean up was taking place, even if to a limited extent, also suggests a certain sense of finality to the project.

By August, six column capitals, presumably for the last six nave columns, had been ordered from two of the *scarpellatori* of the *cantiere*:

Giovanni and Sando del Richo of Fiesole and Andrea di Matteo Fraschetto and each one of them and all of them must give this day, August 14, 1476, one hundred lire paid to them by Piero Mellini and associates with the appropriation to them of the six column capitals they must make and deliver and work well in the opera...¹⁹⁷

One month later, columns were being erected in the eastern side of the nave as well. An entry dated September 27, 1476, records expenses "... for drinking when the column by the opening (*buchato*) is raised."¹⁹⁸ Presumably, the "opening" being referred to is the space in an eastern nave wall chapel that would eventually accommodate a door. (**Fig. 18, Chapel 35**) This would suggest that at least the two eastern nave columns nearer the crossing had already been erected, as the "column by the opening" could either indicate the

¹⁹⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 124v. : "E adì 24 detto [febbraio 1475[1476]] ____ a Simone d'Aghostino charrettaio per levare chalcinai dalla via di Borgo Tegholaio..."

¹⁹⁷ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 133v. : "Giovanni et Sandro del Richo da Fiesole et Andrea di Matteo fraschetto et ognuno di loro e tuti deono dare adì 14 aghosto 1476 lire cento paghato loro Piero Mellini et compagni col stanziamento loro in su sei chapitelli [h]anno affare et condurre et lavorargli bene nell'opera posto Piero avere in questo libro carta 132."

¹⁹⁸ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 132v. : "E adì 27 detto [settembre 1476] soldi xxij per beveraggio quando si riza colonna alla buchato"

second or third eastern nave column. By November, the final three columns of the nave would finally be erected:

And this day, November 23 [1476] one florin for drinking to the whole work crew (*compagnia*) of the opera for the last 3 columns, and [that] today we shall accomplish to raise with the grace of God and because it is the last column.¹⁹⁹

If the last three columns of the eastern nave colonnade were raised in November, than at least one other had been raised between September and November (depending on which column is being referred to as being “by the opening”). More importantly, if the progression of the colonnade reflected the gradual completion of the nave wall, then with the raising of the last three columns, the eastern nave wall must have effectively been near completion by the end of 1476. **(Fig. 43)**

In 1477, the average size of the *cantiere* remained consistent over the first eight months with just under 12 workers, while it diminished to fewer than seven workers during the last four months. The *Libro* records also indicate the promotion of one of the *scarpellatori* to a new supervisory position. In the January payment record, Salvi d’Andrea is identified as a “maestro dello scharpello.”²⁰⁰ This new title may in fact imply that with the first order of structural elements in place, the nature of construction had moved into the upper orders of the building in the form of arches, vaulting, and clerestory walls where the specialized skills of a *scarpellatore* were more essential. Curiously though, in spite of his promotion, Salvi would only be employed during the first three months of the year. Similarly, *Lo Scorbacchia*, the *capomaestro di muro*, would only be employed for the first five months of the year. In fact, perhaps it was the changing nature of construction that explains not only Salvi d’Andrea’s promotion, but also *Lo Scorbacchia*’s reduced employment and salary.

The lack of executive supervisory figures for much of the year may suggest that although the *cantiere* was ready to move on to the next stage of construction, it had yet to do so by the end of 1477. This would also explain the gradually diminished size of the work force. In fact, it appears that the busiest

¹⁹⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 133r. : “E adì 23 di novembre [1476] fiorini uno largo per beverage a tutta la compagnia dell’opera per 3 ultime cholonne e oggi si compiero di rizzare colla grazia di dio e perchè e l’ultima colonna”

²⁰⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 141v.

workers at the *cantiere* were the *charrettai*. An average of 3.5 carters were employed monthly to transport materials to and from the worksite. On April 17, 1477, a payment is recorded to certain Bernardo Jacopi, who is identified as the *camerlengo* of the *Opera* of Florence cathedral for "...250 firwood beams to be cut."²⁰¹ This purchase of lumber not only demonstrates a continuing collaboration amongst the various *Opera* of Florence, but that at Santo Spirito, materials were being prepared for roofing, most probably in the nave of the church. Another expense record from October 2, 1477, reports an expenditure "...of 80 lire for the rest of the mortar and bricks and tiles."²⁰² So both walling and roofing materials were being ordered. The nature and structure of the *cantiere* in 1477 suggest a transitional moment for the project, as preparations were being made to graduate to the next physical level of construction.

The average monthly size of the *cantiere* for the following year of 1478 was reduced even further to nine total workers and suppliers. Except for the months of February and March, the *capomaestro* was absent, while the *maestro dello scarpello*, Salvi d'Andrea, was present for half the year. *Scarpellatori* were now more or less equaled in average number by *charrettai*, suggesting that the transportation of materials was as in demand as skilled labor. The materials being transported were almost exclusively brick and sand. With the exception of payment made to a *cavaiuolo* for stone in November of 1478, the only other suppliers recorded are at least one *fornaciaio* and, for seven months of the year, a *reniuolo*. In fact, payments to the *fornaciaio*, Matteo di Tofano, are recorded throughout the entire year.²⁰³

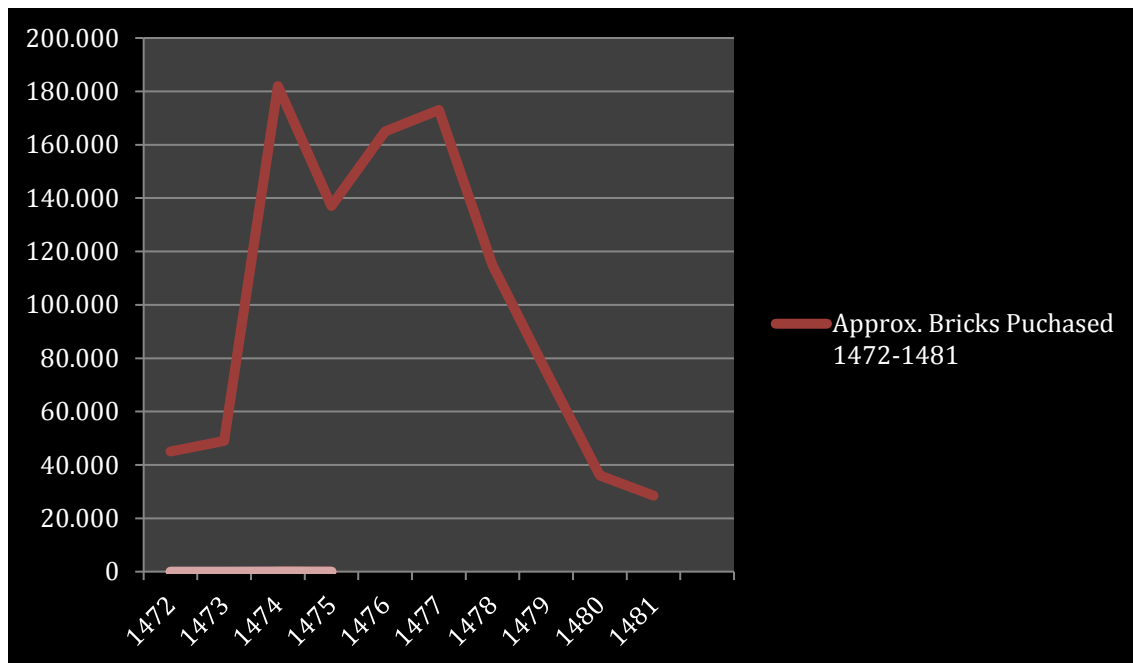
²⁰¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 144r. : "Adì 17 di detto [aprile 1477] lire trecentoquattro e soldi xvij denari iiij paghati a Bernardo Jacopi camerlingo all'opera di Santa Maria del Fiore per l'opera di Santo Spirito et per roghato di Talento di Giovanni D'Allamano per ghabella di travi 250 da tagliare..."

²⁰² ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 156r. : "E adì 2 d'ottobre [1477] lire ottanta sono per resto di chalcina e mattoni e tegholi a mandato..."

²⁰³ For payments made to Matteo di Tofano in 1478, see Appendix D.

Bricks

Approximate Number of Bricks Purchased from 1472-1481



But just how many bricks were being produced for the *cantiere*? A payment record in the *Libro* to the *fornaciaio*, Andrea d'Ugolino sheds significant light on the cost of this building material:

Andrea d'Ugolino d'Andrea, kilnman outside the gate of San Frediano must receive this day, May 8, 1478, lire sixteen, soldi one, denari viij for 1950 bricks at [a cost of] 8 lire, 5 soldi per thousand [bricks] held for him by Piero Mellini and associates in the account of Piero de'Rossi...²⁰⁴

The price for one thousand bricks is clearly indicated as 8 lire and 5 soldi.²⁰⁵ Quinterio claims that the costs of bricks and tiles were normally calculated "...by the thousand."²⁰⁶ Moreover, this cost is comparable to the cost of brick in the construction of the Strozzi Palace around the same period, which was five to six

²⁰⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 173r. : "Andrea d'Ugolino d'Andrea fornaciaio fuori alla porta di San Friano debba avere adì 8 di maggio 1478 lire sedici soldi uno denari viij sono per 1950 mattoni a lire 8 soldi 5 il migliaio ritenutogli Piero Mellini et compagni per conto di Piero de'Rossi..."

²⁰⁵ For a general discussion concerning the supply and demand for brick in fifteenth-century Florence, see Goldthwaite, 1980, 184-187.

²⁰⁶ Quinterio, 1980, 652: "Il prezzo dei mattoni e delle tegole era computato 'a migliaia'..."

lire per thousand bricks.²⁰⁷ Considering that the total recorded payments to kilnmen in 1478 amount to 924 lire, 3 soldi, 7 denari, then approximately 115,000 bricks were ordered and transported during that year.²⁰⁸ That most, if not all of the *fornaciai* expenses were used for brick and not roofing tiles is confirmed by the near total absence of a *maestro dei tetti* - or “master of roofing” - during the period between 1472 and 1481. The only documented mention of such a worker at the *cantiere* is in an early payment record of August 1472.²⁰⁹ Presuming that the same approximate brick/price ratio was in use prior to 1478, we can estimate the annual amount of purchased and laid brick as follows:

Table 13:

**Annual Expenses for *Fornaciai* and
Approximate Number of Bricks Purchased between 1472-1481**

Year	Annual <i>Fornaciai</i> Expenses	Approximate Number of Bricks Purchased
1472 (June-December)	l. 361 s. 14 d. 9	45,000
1473	l. 391 s. 9 d. 1	49,000
1474	l. 1,457 s. 8 d. 9	182,000
1475	l. 1,096 s. 4 d. 3	137,000
1476	l. 1,327 s. 5 d. 7	165,000
1477	l. 1,386 s. 5 d. 5	173,000
1478	l. 924 s. 3 d. 7	115,000
1479	l. 602 s. 5	75,000
1480	l. 288 s. 14 d. 4	36,000
1481	l. 227 s. 7 d. 6	28,500

Although the quantity of brick employed by the *cantiere* is not an exact meter by which to measure the progression of construction, it does in some ways confirm the construction history presented in the discussion above. The relatively small number of bricks employed in 1473 reflect that most of the activity of the workers was focused on raising the western nave columns in the part of the nave closer to the crossing, which side-aisle wall was already

²⁰⁷ Goldthwaite, 1973, 158: “Bricks were purchased by the thousand, and as they were so nearly the same size there was hardly any difference in their prices. The price usually was between eight and nine *lire* per thousand...”

²⁰⁸ For comparative data on the quantity of brick employed in fifteenth-century Florentine worksites, see Goldthwaite, 1980, 185.

²⁰⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 18r.

partially constructed. **(Fig. 42)** By 1474, a greater amount of brick was needed to complete this western nave wall and in preparation for the construction of the eastern nave wall, for which foundations were laid in October 1474. **(Fig. 42)** In 1475, at least the lower order of this wall was completed as evidenced by the raising of the last column of the western nave colonnade. By 1476, the construction of the eastern nave wall must also have been significantly realized, as evidenced by the completion of its respective colonnade by the end of the year. **(Fig. 43)** Once the nave chapel walls and corresponding columns were standing, by 1477, the focus of the *cantiere* turned to the second order of architecture of the nave where great quantities of brick would be required for sail vaults, arcade walls and eventually the clerestory. Curiously, as the quantity of brick increased, the size of the *cantiere* decreased between 1475 and 1478. So although there may have been a very clear idea of how much material was necessary to finalize the church, the material was not used as quickly as it had been in previous years. This may, in part, be due to the time lag involved in the purchase and delivery of brick and lime between the firings of kilns, which could be as long as a month.²¹⁰ Since the *fornaciaio* Matteo di Tofano was the almost exclusive supplier of brick to the *cantiere*, such a scenario is more than likely.

Stone

In 1479, the size of the *cantiere* increased to an average monthly number of twelve workers and suppliers, although this number is somewhat inflated by the unusually large *cantieri* of March and October that respectively numbered at twenty-one and thirty-two employees.²¹¹ The *maestro*, *Lo Scorbacchia*, is recorded in only five non-consecutive monthly payment records, with an even lower average salary of 7.8 lire. Salvi d'Andrea is now instead referred to as the “capomaestro di scharpello.” He is recorded as being present for eight non-consecutive months. Perhaps the slight variation in his title (from *maestro* to *capomaestro*) suggests a greater managerial responsibility for the *scarpellatore*. This hypothesis is indirectly confirmed by the presence of at least one *cavaiuolo* (and therefore stone materials) at the *cantiere* for nine months of the year. In

²¹⁰ Goldthwaite, 1980, 185.

²¹¹ For the size of the *cantiere* in 1479, see Appendix D.

October, three separate quarryman were providing stone to the worksite, and if all of the nave columns were already standing, it could only mean that the stone being furnished was intended for the arches, entablatures, transverse arches, moldings and cornices of both the first and second orders of architecture. An early entry in the *Libro* describes how the stone pieces were transported up to the upper registers of the building: “And this said day [July 7, 1472] for one large basket to pull up the stones... brought by Salvi [d’Andrea].”²¹² Such a hypothesis is supported by the traditional building practice in fifteenth-century Florence. As Goldthwaite points out, “Florentines... preferred to cover up their brick and rubble walls with either stone or stucco.”²¹³ Once the brick walls of the church were completed, they were ready to be dressed in stone.

Moreover, as the demand for stone increased, the supply of brick decreased. The *fornaciaio*, Matteo di Tofano, is recorded in only eight of the monthly payment records in 1479, as opposed to his permanent yearly tenure between the years 1474 and 1478. The total yearly expenditure for brick in 1479 amounted to 602 lire and 5 soldi, or the approximate equivalent of 75,000 bricks. Not since 1473 had the demand for brick been so low. Clearly, the nature of construction had changed. Stone was now the primary architectural material of the *cantiere*, and it needed to be shaped and worked by the *scarpello*. In the payment records of July and October, there were respectively nine and eleven *scarpellatori* present at the *cantiere*. In light of this, not surprisingly, the presence of a *fabbro*, or blacksmith, is recorded at the *cantiere* for the first time. His skill would be needed to keep the tools of the *scarpellatori* well honed. The *scarpellatori* were also receiving plenty of manual assistance from seven and eleven *manovali* respectively during the same two months.

Although the first four months of 1480 were characterized by relatively small *cantieri*, with an average amount of six workers and suppliers, the remaining eight months were distinguished for a bustling worksite with an average number of eighteen mostly workers. Not since the winter months of 1472/1473 had the *cantiere* been both so large and labor intensive. Suppliers were still present, but in a rather diminished role. The *fornaciaio*, Matteo di Tofano, is recorded as receiving payments for seven months of the year. In

²¹² ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 2r. : “E adi detto per uno cestone per tirare su le pietre soldi 9 porto Salvi”

²¹³ Goldthwaite, 1980, 171.

fact, his presence seems to coincide with the slower building period at the beginning of the year. The total expenses for brick in 1480 amount to 288 lire 14 soldi and 4 denari, or roughly the equivalent of 36,000 bricks. This is the lowest annual number of bricks purchased by the *cantiere* during the nearly nine-and-a-half-year period recorded in the *Libro*. Payments to *cavaiuoli* are also recorded during 1480 for half of the year, so at least some stone was still required at the building site.

But for both skilled and unskilled laborers, it was all hands on deck. During the peak months of June, September and November, as many as twelve *scarpellatori* and ten *manovali* were present at the worksite. The documents also clearly indicate just what part of the church was being worked on by spring of 1480 - that is, the crossing drum. A payment record, dated May 21, 1480, registers payment "...to Sandro del Richo from Fiesole for the stones for the outside of the cupola...."²¹⁴ Six days later, another payment record indicates payment to the same *scarpellatore*, Sandro del Richo, "...and [the monies] are given to him to bring stones for the crossing tribune [of the church]."²¹⁵ So if construction had clearly progressed to the level of the crossing dome, much, if not all, of the surrounding clerestory wall must have been well under way. This would explain the drastic reduction in the demand for brick, while stone would still have been necessary for the window moldings and cornices of the clerestory level, as well as the interior and exterior architectural detailing of the drum and dome. (Fig. 44)

Towards Completion

The employee payment records in the *Libro* for 1481 are incomplete.²¹⁶ They only account for payments through the end of October, and there are no payment records for the entire month of June. But during the first half of the year, the trend of the large *cantiere* that had characterized the previous year

²¹⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 208r. : "E adì 21 [maggio 1480] alavere lire xxviii soldi xv sono per _____ a Sandro del Richo da Fiesole in sulle pietre per di fuori alla chupola posto Sandro dare in questo libro carta 207"

²¹⁵ Ibid.: "Piero di Francesco Mellini e compagni camerlengo dell'opera di Santo Spirito di Firenze deono avere adì 27 maggio 1480 fiorini tre larghi prima a Sandro del Richo da Fiesole e agli si gli danno per portare di pietre per la tribuna posto Sandro dare I questo libro carta 207"

²¹⁶ For the payment records of 1481, see Appendix D.

continued. Between January and May, the average size of the workforce was approximately fourteen employees. A majority of these were laborers, in the roles of *scarpellatori* and *manovali*. Both the *capomaestro* (sometimes along with his assistant *maestro*) and the *capomaestro dello scarpello* were consistently present as well. Building materials consisted mainly of brick, with the continuous five-month expenditures of this period amounting to sum of l.227 s.7 d. 6, or the approximate equivalent of 28,500 bricks. A *cavaiuolo* is also on record for three of the five months providing stone.

It appears that construction was still focused on the crossing drum and dome, much of which seems to have been realized by the early months of 1481. In fact, preparations were already being made for the construction of the dome lantern: “Antonio Sachi, stonecutter, must receive this day, Febrary 16, 1480[1481], l. 4 ... for his labor in assisting Salvi d’Andrea in making the models for the lantern.”²¹⁷ So enough of the crossing dome must have been completed in order to merit the consideration of what its eventual crowning lantern would resemble. Another entry into the *Libro*, dated February 26, 1481, records payment of “...two large florins to Jacopo di Stefano, blacksmith, to give to the entire worksite of the *Opera* for fifty-three pounds of sheep’s milk cheese (*caccio*) and for drinking since the twelve corner ribs were covered.”²¹⁸ Presumably the celebration was for the covering of the twelve corners, or masonry ribs, of the umbrella-style crossing dome. **(Fig. 44)** While building went on above, it also continued down below. By June, pavement tiles (*mezzane*) were being ordered for the paving of the crossing area: “And this day, the 20th of the said [month], four large florins to Papi del Comperino, kilnman, from La Lastra, for the tiles to pave the crossing...”²¹⁹ So, even if there were no payment records for this month, clearly workers and suppliers were still rapidly bringing the building to completion, which may also explain the oversight of the *provveditore* in recording payment for the month of June.

²¹⁷ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 224r. : “Antonio Sachi scharpellatore deve avere adì 16 di febbraio 1480[1481] lire quarto gli fa buoni a Piero di Berto de’Rossi per ordinare degli operai per sua fatica in aiutare a Salvi d’Andrea in fare e modelli della lanterna”

²¹⁸ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 223r. : “E adì 26 detto [febbraio 1480[1481] fiorini due larghi paghati a Jacopo di Stefano fabro per dare a tutta la bighata dell’opera per libra liii chaccio et beberaggio che 12 spigholi si comprirano”

²¹⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 228r. : “A adì 20 detto [giugno 1481] fiorini Quattro larghi prima a Papi del Comperino fornaraio allastra in sulle mezzane per ammattonare la crocie posto Papi dare in questo libro carta 232.”

Over the next four months, between July and October of 1481, the size of the workforce was somewhat reduced to a monthly average of just below eight, almost exclusively, laborers. In fact, a single, and rather insignificant, monthly payment was made to the *fornaciaio*, Matteo di Tofano, while the presence of a *funaiuolo*, or “rope maker” is recorded for the first time. By the summer of 1481, work continued on the paving of the crossing: “Papi del Comparino, kilnman, from La Lastra, must give, this day, July 20, 1481, l. 60 *piccioli*, ...for the paving tiles (*mezzane campigiani*) for the paving of the tribune (*tribuna*), that is, the crossing area, of which he has sent us a part and will continue to send for l. xj s.-.”²²⁰ By the fall of the same year, the walls of the church were being whitewashed, “Master Donato di Antonio da Como, master painter, must give this day October 17, 1481, four large gold florins and the aforesaid [amount] for the painting of the walls of the opera.”²²¹ Efforts were also being made to remove all leftover building materials from the worksite. Records indicate payment to the *renaiuolo*, Fruosmo di Berto and his brother, Berto di Berto, “to clear out and clean the crossing” presumably of leftover sand and gravel.²²²

Clearly, the final steps towards the completion of the church were underway by the end of 1481. So much so, in fact, that a seventeenth-century source indicates that the church was officiated that same year: “I record how I found in a book of the sacristy, that our new church of Santo Spirito was officiated in the year 1481 and for memory’s sake I made this record on April 20, 1603.”²²³ In May of the same year, the *Opera* ordered “...that the *mandorla*

²²⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 233r. (First cited by E. Luporini, 1964, 236, d. 12) : “Papi del Comparino fornaciaio presso alla Lastra deve dare adì 20 di luglio 1481 lire sessanta piccioli per tanti gli stanziarono gli operai in sulle mezzane campigiani per amatonare la tribuna. Cioè la croce, delli quali ci ha mandato parte e del continuo a madare per l. xj s.-“

²²¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 235v. : “Maestro Donato di Antonio da Chomo maestro imbianchatore deve dare adì 17 d’ottobre 1481 fiorini Quattro larghi in oro porto e detto per in sullo bianchare delle mura dell’opera”

²²² ASF, CRS, 122, 127, 237r. and 237v. : “E adì detto [15 dicembre 1481] lire cinquanta pagati a Fruosmo e Berto di Berto in sullo sghombrare e nettare la croce dell’opera posto Fruosmo d’avere in questo libro”; “Fruosmo di Berto renaiuolo deve dare adì 23 di novembre 1481 fiorini cinque d’oro larghi in oro posto e detto per parte della sua faticha dello sghomberre la terza parte della croce”

²²³ ASF, CRS, 122, 67, 280v. : “Ricordo come io ho trovato in un libro della sacrestia che la nuova chiesa nostra di Santo Spirito si cominciò a ufitiare l’anno 1461 et per memoria ho fatto questo ricordo di 20 d’aprile 1603.” First

in the front of the worksite where the coats of arms of the *popolo* and the commune of Florence are located be emptied in order to put them in a worthy place...”²²⁴ The *mandorla*, or “almond-shaped frame” was presumably the temporary harness structure of the arms of the commune. These were the same coats of arms discussed earlier and whose decoration was commissioned to Jacopo di Pintore in June of 1475. Considering the nearly finalized state of construction in the crossing of the church, it is safe to presume that the arms were placed where they still are today – that is, on the clerestory wall of the northern arm of the church. More importantly, the arms of the commune were not placed within the chapel that should allegedly have been dedicated to them and that was eventually sold to the Frescobaldi family in 1485.²²⁵ **(Fig. 18 & 33, Chapel 20)** The records do not explain why the destination of the arms was modified. Perhaps the *Opera* realized that by placing the arms on the clerestory wall instead of inside of a chapel, not only were the arms more visible, but an extra chapel could now be sold to a private patron for additional revenue.

Libro dei Debitori e Creditori dal 1477-1496

The records of the *Libro* discussed above come to an end in October of 1481, and although they paint a very vivid picture of the construction of the nave, we must turn to another archival source for the finalization of the church. The next major archival source concerning the construction history of the church is the *Libro dei Debitori e Creditori dal 1477-1496*.²²⁶ The records therein overlap for a four-year period with the records of the earlier *Libro dei Debitori e Creditori dal 1471-1481* discussed thus far in this chapter. It is in this next *Libro*, which has been widely noted and cited in nearly all the scholarship concerning Santo Spirito, that the final phases of construction are recorded.²²⁷

cited and transcribed by Botto, 1931, 510. This is the only near contemporary document recording the consecration of the church.

²²⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 51v. : “...si contentorono che si sghombri la mandorla della faccia nell’opera dove sono le arme del popolo e commune di Firenze per metterle in luogo degno....” First cited and published by Fabriczy, 1907, 53.

²²⁵ For the eventual private sale of this chapel, see Chap. II, 3.

²²⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 128.

²²⁷ Fabriczy, 1907; Botto, 1931; Luporini, 1964; Quinterio, 1996, have all published various entries concerning the construction history of the church from this third *Libro* (1477-1496). Goldthwaite, 1980; and Burke, 2004, have instead cited various entries respectively regarding aspects of economic and social

These last years of construction were bittersweet for the *cantiere* - elated and content at the visible fruit of years of labor, while simultaneously apprehensive regarding future employment. In fact, the proverbial axe would fall as early as May 11, 1481, when the *Opera* ordered that "... there remain in the worksite 6 or a most seven schalpellini and sending away those who produce less...."²²⁸ Logically, as the demand for labor was reduced, the *Opera* began to eliminate its overhead the only way it could, by eliminating superfluous labor. Those workers who were let go would now turn to other *cantieri* both in and outside of Florence for work, while for those who remained at Santo Spirito, there was still work to be done. With the crossing area and nave of the church essentially completed by 1481, the *cantiere* now needed to address the realization of the three remaining critical elements regarding the finalization of the church - the crossing dome, the roofing and the façade.

The construction of the crossing piers was already being prepared by July of 1477: "Fruosmo di Berto *renaiuolo* must receive for gravel that he gave to the *Opera* for the foundation of the large pilaster (pier) below the end of the church..."²²⁹ In November of the same year, the *cavaiuolo* Simone del Caprina provided "... a molding for the large arches, the last..."²³⁰ So by the end of 1477, the construction of the crossing area had advanced into the upper order of the transverse crossing arches. Logically, then, by March of the following year, the construction of the roofs of the nave and three crossing arms roofs was being prepared. An entry in the *Libro* dated March, 9 1478, records how the *Opera* "...ordered and insisted that when the roof is put up, that internally it will follow the same level as the arches with their cornices on the inside, and then will follow, as the model demonstrates, up to the cornices which extend

history. In spite of its notoriety, there is still a great deal more to be learned from the information contained within this dense archival source.

²²⁸ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 51v. : "chommisionarono dal l° del mese in là [...]si resti nell'opera numero 6 o al più sette schalpellini e mandonsi via e meno che rendono.." First cited in F. Quinterio, *Dopo Brunelleschi, Indagine sopra i cantieri incompiuti del Brunelleschi: collaboratori e continuatori*, Facoltà di Architettura, Florence, 1974-75, 297.

²²⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 2v. : "Fruosmo di Berto renaiuolo dee avere per ghiaia a dato nell'opera del fondamento del pilastro grande di sotto al fine della chiesa..." First cited by Botto, 1931, 501; first transcribed by Quinterio, 1996, 94.

²³⁰ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 8r.: "...una ghola per gli archi grandi, l'ultimo." First cited and transcribed in Botto, 1931, 501.

outside and above the roof.”²³¹ What is most significant about this last entry is the specific mention of a model. The roofs would be built following the physical and visual indications of a model, which in likelihood had been the one made by Brunelleschi.²³²

Another of the significant topics of debate amongst scholars concerning the deviations from Brunelleschi’s original plan at Santo Spirito specifically concerns just how the church was to be covered. In his monograph on Brunelleschi of 1962, Sanpaolesi first suggested a barrel-vaulted solution for the nave and transept arms of the church, instead of the flat timber roof that we see today.²³³ **(Fig. 16)** Sanpaolesi based his theory strictly on the extant physical architecture visible in the church, and not on archival data. In fact, much of Sanpaolesi’s argument is founded on the hypothesis first proposed by Vasari that Brunelleschi designed the Badia of Fiesole (1454), which is covered with a barrel vault, and that its near contemporary design with Santo Spirito would suggest the same vaulting solution for both structures.²³⁴ **(Fig. 45)** It is, therefore, somewhat coincidental that Sanpaolesi’s specific criticism regarding the “unhappy resolution” of the present flat roof with the transverse crossing arches, which he also criticizes for “their lack of proportion”, should resonate so directly with the March 9, 1478, entry from the *Libro* that addresses the same specific issue.²³⁵ As eloquent as Sanpaolesi’s argument is, it is directly contradicted by the archival documentation. There was no speculation at the *cantiere* regarding possible roofing solutions for the church for the very simple reason that they were working from a model. That this was the model left behind at the *cantiere* by Brunelleschi is highly probable since about one year later, in a discussion concerning a model made by Salvi d’Andrea of the “tribune” (crossing drum and dome) of the church, the *Opera* insisted that he “...follow and not deviate from the one of Filippo....”²³⁶ So, if the *cantiere* was working directly from Brunelleschi’s model, it is highly unlikely that they could

²³¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, c. 26r. First cited and transcribed by Botto, 1931, 501.

²³² For discussion of a Brunelleschi model for Santo Spirito, see Chap. I, 2.

²³³ For Sanpaolesi’s argument, see Introduction, 1. Luporini, (1964, 105) supports San Paolesi’s argument concerning a barrel vaulting solution at Santo Spirito.

²³⁴ For the Badia Fiesolana, see A. Belluzzi, “La Badia Fiesolana”, *Filippo Brunelleschi: La sua opera e il suo tempo*, Florence, 1980, 495-502.

²³⁵ Sanpaolesi, 1962, 79.

²³⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 29r. : “achostandosi e non disformandosi da quello di Filippo....” First cited and transcribed by Fabriczy, 1907, 52.

have mistaken a barrel vault for a flat timber roof on the model. As intriguing as it might be to imagine barrel vaults extending over Brunelleschi's graceful volumes, the surviving archival information regarding the church presents a very different reality.²³⁷

The fact that Salvi d'Andrea had produced a model for the construction of the dome in May of 1479 suggests that by that date, construction had progressed to the final and highest portion of the crossing, as was already evidenced in the construction history recorded in the earlier *Libro* (1471[1472]-1481).²³⁸ In fact, one and a half years later, the construction of the dome was finally complete:

On this day, Thursday September 27, [1481]... Assembling together... and more than just for drinking for [the celebration of] the covering of the tribune, l. 25 shall be given to Salvi capomaestro dello scharpello and the same to Giovanni di Mariano capomaestro.²³⁹

Construction may have taken longer than expected because, as Botto has been to date the only scholar to point out, plague struck Florence during that period. On June 4, 1479, a record indicates "...to escape the plague, the worksite is closed."²⁴⁰ Therefore, with the roofs and the dome completed, only one other major part of the church needed to be realized - the façade. Little did the *Opera* and the *cantiere* know that it would require a majority of the subsequent decade not only to actually build the façade, but also to simply decide just how exactly to build it.

²³⁷ For Saalman's structural arguments against barrel vaults over Santo Spirito, see Saalman, 1993, 371- 373.

²³⁸ For further discussion of the dome model for Santo Spirito, see S. Giorgio-Marrano, "Il Modello della Cupola", *La Chiesa e il Convento di Santo Spirito a Firenze*, Florence, 1996, 127-134.

²³⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 54v.: E più fermorono che per beveraggio del coprimento della tribuna si dia a Salvi capomaestro dello scharpello l. xxv e simile a Giovanni di Mariano capomaestro della chazzuola...." First cited and transcribed by Fabriczy, 1907, 53.

²⁴⁰ ASF, CRS. 122, 128, 30v.: "...per sfuggire il morbo l'opera sia serrata...." First cited and transcribed by Botto, 1931, 503.

The Façade Controversy

The *Libro* records from 1472 to 1481 offer some intimation as to the drama that would follow. That three separate façade models were requested from *Lo Scorbacchia*, Salvi d'Andrea and Giovanni da Prato in November of 1475 is a clear indication that the wooden model that Brunelleschi had left behind at the *cantiere* was probably lacking a façade wall. So when the *Opera* "...ordered that the façade in front of the church be built..." on January 12, 1481 [1482], it was not yet clear just which model would be followed.²⁴¹ Two months later, on March 11, 1481, the *Opera* decided on the number and dimensions of the doors to be used:

Assembling together, the respectable *operai*... deliberate that the new church will have on the façade in front three doors, each nave having one. That is, the side aisles [will have] a small door 4 *braccia* wide and 8 *braccia* high... and the big door, that is, the one in the middle, shall be six *braccia* wide and twelve *braccia* high.²⁴²

The tone and content of the entry conforms to the typical bureaucratic lexicon of both *Libri*. What is surprising is that the *Opera* clearly stated the number of doors they preferred. This is surprising because the most common façade - door solution for basilica style churches at that point in time was to accommodate three doors. So why would the *Opera* need to explicitly express this intent?

The remainder of the same entry into the *Libro* provides the answer:

... because having had judgement from four intellectuals who were not in agreement and 3 agreed to 3 doors and only one said 4 doors... Domenico da Prato, Francesco di Giovanni, called "Francione", Simone del Chaprina, these are completely in

²⁴¹ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 56r. : "...e commissioni si murasse la faccia della chiesa dinanzi...." First cited and transcribed by Fabriczy, 1907, 53.

²⁴² ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 57r. "Raghunoronsi gli spectabili operai e per loro partitia feciono deliberorno che la chiesa nuova avesse nella faccia di nanzi tre porte, ogni nave una. Cioè le navi dal lato una porta piccola largha br. 4 e alta br. 8...e la porta grande, cioè quella di mezzo sia largha br. sei e alta br. dodici...." First cited and transcribed in Fabriczy, 1907, 53.

agreement for three doors. Only Vettorino [di Lorenzo Ghiberti] said 4.²⁴³

The entry continues to indicate the names of further supporters of the three-door façade solution which include *capomaestro dello scarpello* Salvi d'Andrea, the *scarpellatore* Antonio Sachi, the notary of the *Opera* Francesci Sini, and the *operai* Bernardo Corbinelli and Stoldo Frescobaldi. With so many supporters (including *operai*) of the three-door solution, why was the *Opera* even entertaining the possibility of four doors? Could it be that the opinion of one man, albeit the son of a great sculptor and goldsmith, held such weight?

Presumably, the idea of a four-door façade must have come from one of the façade models produced in 1475. If both Domenico da Prato and Salvi d'Andrea, who each produced a façade model, supported the three-door solution, then *Lo Scorbacchia's* remaining façade model must have been the only one to incorporate a four-door solution. This hypothesis is confirmed by another record in the *Libro*:

Tuesday May 7, 1482. In the court of our lord Magnifico we decided that the wall of the façade would be built in such a way as to accommodate three doors as well as four doors, and so he said that it would follow both Salvi and *Lo Scorbacchia*.²⁴⁴

Clearly, Salvi d'Andrea's model incorporated three doors, while *Lo Schorbacchia's* incorporated four. Surprisingly, as celebrated as the façade controversy at Santo Spirito is, none of the extant scholarship on the church has ever actually identified *Lo Scorbacchia* as the author of the four-door façade proposal.²⁴⁵ This would explain why the *Opera* would have even considered the possibility of four doors with only one man - Vittorio Ghiberti -

²⁴³ Ibid. : "...perchè avuto giudicio da quattro intelligenti che non se ne trovo ro più e 3 s'achordorono alle 3 porte uno solo disse le 4...m° Domenicho da Prato, Francesco di Giovanni detto Francione, Simone del Chaprina, questi s'achordono in tutto alle tre porti. Solo Vettorino [Ghiberti] disse le 4..." First cited and transcribed by C. Fabriczy, 1907, 53.

²⁴⁴ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 58r. : "1482 Martedì e dì 7 di maggio. Nella corte de S.N. magn.° si rimase che si murasse in sul muro della faccia dinanzi in modo che servisse alle 3 porte et così alle 4 porte et così disse si seghiterebbe Salvi el Lo Scorbacchia." First cited and translated in Fabriczy, 1907, 53.

²⁴⁵ That *Lo Scorbacchia* proposed the four-door solution was previously unknown because the previously discussed record commissioning the construction of three different façade models was also unknown.

supporting it. Ghiberti was supporting the proposal of the acting *capomaestro di muro* who had overseen the construction of about half of the church over a decade. That the discussion had been brought before Lorenzo “*il Magnifico*” de’Medici, no less, reflects the importance assigned to the decision. “*Il Magnifico*”, with a rather solomonic approach, diplomatically proposed to build a façade wall that could accommodate both solutions with three apertures in the façade wall – that is, 2 small portals, and 1 large central portal - then once the final decision was made, the excess door space or spaces could simply be walled up. **(Fig. 46)** Such a solution would allow the realization of a façade wall that would not ultimately determine the number of doors, so that the decision concerning the final appearance of the façade as regards to the number of doors could be made at a later date.

In March 1483, the *Opera* made its decision to “...make the façade in the manner and form which was in the model made of 3 doors for Salvi the *capomaestro* of the said *Opera*.”²⁴⁶ The *capomaestro dello scarpello* had won out over the *capomaestro di muro*, and three-door solution won over the four... or so it seemed. In May of 1484, the *provveditore* was told “...that the work to make the three doors would not be followed and that the *maestri* should be released until something further is decided.”²⁴⁷ It seems that not all of the right people were convinced of the decision for a three-door solution. One year later, as Quinterio puts it, “The commitment to raise the matter to the level of one of almost ‘national’ significance would be made on March 9, 1485, with the idea of asking the opinion of five or six citizens from each quarter [of the city].”²⁴⁸ One month later, the *Opera* decided that a committee of sixty-two citizens from throughout the city would be needed. Then, two weeks later, the number was increased to sixty-four citizens, not including architects, whose opinions would be added after that of the plebiscite.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 63v. : “...facessi nel modo e forma che stava el modello fatto di dette 3 porti per Salvi capomaestro di detta opera....” First cited and transcribed in Fabriczy, 1907, 54.

²⁴⁷ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 74r. : “...che non si seuitassi il fare lavorare le tre porti e che a maestri si desse loro licenza insino a tanto che altro si deliberassi.” First cited and transcribed in C.Fabriczy, 1907, 54.

²⁴⁸ Quinterio, 1996, 120: “L’impegno di portare la videnda sul piano di una questione quasi ‘nazionale’ verrà pres ail 9 marzo 1484/85 con l’idea di chiedere il parere a cinque o sei cittadini per quartiere.”

²⁴⁹ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 80r. The entire entry is transcribed in Fabriczy, 1907, 54.

The controversy finally reached its dramatic finale on May 11, 1486, four years after the *Opera* had so casually ordered the construction of the façade wall. An entry in the *Libro* records the events at the decisive meeting.²⁵⁰ All of the *operai* and forty-two citizens met together in the chapterhouse of the convent. Various architects would present their arguments in support of the three or four-door solution for the façade. Luigi Guicciardini is recorded as having argued for three doors. Antonio Chanigiani suggested building both three and four-door presumably full-scale façade models to decide which looked more appropriate. Ludovico Toscanelli, grandson of the mathematician Paolo Toscanelli, informed the assembly "... that *maestro* Paolo had said that he had heard from Pippo di Ser Brunellesco that there should be 4 doors, but that he did not know how they should be arranged."²⁵¹ After all of the *operai* had voiced their opinions, three separate votes were taken. The first vote was for a three-door solution, with the result of thirty "in favor of" black beans (*fave nere*) and twenty-seven "against" white beans (*fave bianche*). The second vote was for a four-door solution, with the result of nine *fave nere* and twenty-eight *fave bianche*. The final vote was to construct the temporary façade models of both solutions, with the result of twenty *fave nere* and twenty-seven *fave bianche*. As a result, "...seeing that the 3 doors passed, they decided that the three doors be made."²⁵² One and half years later, on December 3, 1487, *Lo Scorbacchia* and Salvi d'Andrea were each awarded 25 lire "...as a bonus for having closed and completed the façade in front of the church and having placed the roof."²⁵³ With the exception of a few still-needed cosmetic additions, for all effective purposes, nearly a half of a century after it was begun, the construction of the basilica of Santo Spirito was finally completed.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid. : "... che Maestro Paghola aveva deto che aveva sentito da Pippo di Ser Brunellesco che le porti avevano essere 4, ma in che modo avesino astare che nol sapeva...."

²⁵² Ibid. : "...veduto che le 3 porti avanzarono rimasono che le tre porti si facesino."

²⁵³ ASF, CRS, 122, 128, 80v. : "per benservito e mancia di avere serato e chonpiuto la faccia dinanzi della chiesa e posto il tetto."

²⁵⁴ Curiously, although the matter regarding the number of doors was resolved, there was no discussion of the actual façade decoration. In fact, the exterior façade wall of Santo Spirito would remain undecorated until it was finally stuccoed over and whitewashed in 1758. For the eighteenth century façade of Santo Spirito, see E. Capretti, "La Facciata: Il Problema e le Soluzioni", *La Chiesa e il Convento di Santo Spirito a Firenze*, Florence, 1996, 219-228.

“... the errors made and consented to by others”

Just how much that completed church resembled what Brunelleschi had designed a half-century earlier will probably never be completely known. Another near-contemporary chronicler, Antonio Billi, summarizes the deviations at Santo Spirito as follows:

He made the model of the church of Santo Spirito, an excellent work even if it [the design] was not followed completely. Neither in the doors, nor in the external enclosure, which was supposed to look the way it did internally. Nor in the altars of the chapels, which were supposed to be in the front [of the chapels] and orienting the priest so that he faced the church while celebrating the mass, exactly contrary to the way it is presently.”²⁵⁵

Billi's summary includes the controversial issues of the mantling wall and the number of doors to be included in the façade. But his exclusion of any mention of a roofing solution for the church is further evidence that the flat timber roof solution that we see today was in fact never challenged. Yet, Billi also introduced another of Brunelleschi's supposed original intentions, no mention of which is made in Manetti's earlier biography, and that is that the chapel altars were meant to be positioned at the openings of the chapels, in such a way as to position the celebrant so that he was facing his audience. Henk van Os claims that “this position of the priest had been made completely obsolete by the Lateran Council of 1215.”²⁵⁶ Just why Brunelleschi intended this is unclear. More importantly, what would motivate Brunelleschi to believe that he could change conventional liturgical practice in which a Latin Christian priest would celebrate mass with his back to his audience? Furthermore, altars positioned at the front of the chapels would result in those laypersons in attendance at mass to stand in the side-aisle bays directly in front of the chapels. Such a scenario

²⁵⁵ Billi, (Benedettucci), 1991, 32-33: “Fece il modello della chiesa di Santo Spirito, opera eccellente benchè non fu seguito interamente lo ordine suo, nè nelle porte, nè nel ricidimento di fuori, che si aveva a dimostrare nel modo che esso era dentro, [nè] nelli altari delle cappelle, che avevano a essere dal lato dinanzi e volgere il prete il volto alla chiesa al dire la messa, contrari appunto a quell che sono al presente.”

²⁵⁶ H. Van Os, “Paintings in a Glass House: the Altarpieces of Pienza”, *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 17, 1987, 35.

would project chapel patronage and function into the church proper. In turn, the side aisles, which in the overall design of the church appear to serve as a continuous ambulatory, would actually be transformed into a succession of extended chapel spaces.

The nature of this discussion may also suggest that the anterior-positioned altar theory was some form of a retroactive *apologia* for the rather unaccommodating chapel dimensions.²⁵⁷ That because the altars were ultimately fixed to the back walls of the chapels, this deviation from Brunelleschi's original intention was perhaps the cause of the insufficient burial space within the chapels. Antonio Billi was a Florentine merchant whose chronicle dates to some time during the first two decades of the sixteenth century.²⁵⁸ Why he should be so in tune with Brunelleschi's intentions at Santo Spirito is somewhat unclear, unless, he was simply recording what, by his time, may have become generally accepted public lore concerning the major changes made at Santo Spirito. That is to say, had Brunelleschi's followers realized the architect's original intentions, then one of the major functional faults of the church - inadequate burial space - might have been avoided.

Based on the overall critical and sometimes near cynical tones used by both Antonio Manetti in his biography and, some time later, Antonio Billi, in his chronicles, a certain sense of factionalism, almost to the extent of *campanilismo*, emerges at Santo Spirito - not only regarding the door controversy, but also regarding the comprehensive realization and appearance of the entire church. The door controversy may simply have lit the fuse. Supporters of the four-door façade solution could now refer to the other various "wrongs" that had been done to Brunelleschi's original conception of the church, such as the enclosing wall, or the anterior-positioned chapel altars mentioned by Billi. By adding the three-door façade solution to this list, it would, in a sense, imply a certain sense of "guilt by association" for the supporters of the three-door façade solution for the other "errors" as well. One could almost imagine *Lo Scorbacchia*, Guiliano da Sangallo and the other city-wide

²⁵⁷ Saalman, 1993, 377, instead supports Billi's claim: "Thus his suggestion that it was intended to place the altars at the front of the chapels with the priest facing the faithful during mass is of real interest and has the ring of truth." Although Saalman goes on to rightly point out that, "what Billi does not tell us is why this idea was abandoned."

²⁵⁸ Saalman, 1993, 376.

supporters of Brunelleschi's alleged intentions taking up the door controversy as their banner of protest.

This sense of factionalism is clearly expressed in a letter of May of 1486, in which the celebrated architect Giuliano da Sangallo made one last attempt to salvage the four-door façade solution in his well-known letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, asking that *il Magnifico* override the decision made by the *Opera*.²⁵⁹

In the name of God, this day, May 15, 1486

Just a note to notify Your Magnificence how this past Wednesday the discussion on the doors of Santo Spirito took place, and, from what I understand, there were 6 architects [present]... I was not there because I was in Prato... but I was also among those requested [for consultation] and the others were Araldo, Vittorio di Bartolocio, Lorenzo della Golpaia, Simone del Caprino, the captain of the wallers, Guiliano da Maiano, Bernardo Galuzzi. Vittorio said [he was in favor of] three [doors]; Bernardo Galluzzi and the Captain said three or four [doors] in this manner: that he wanted to make a door in the middle as large as the central nave, and then place a column in the middle [of the door] like a window in the Venetian style. It was not approved for good reason. Giuliano da Maiano said [he was in favor of] three [doors] and supported it with many reasons and he always sustained the three [doors]. Thus, in as much, we cannot be there for the great amount of hot air (*gran boria*) spoken by Il Maiano, who says he obtained this victory. So be it that you be notified. I hope that when Your Magnificence returns, that you will be the one who will not let that beautiful building be ruined. Nothing more than this. May Christ guard you from harm.

Your servant,

Giuliano da Sangallo²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹ Paatz, 1940-1954, V, 169, n. 36

²⁶⁰ Botto, 1931, 507- 509: "Al nome di Dio adì 15 di maggio 1486. Solo questa per dare aviso a Vostra Magnificenza chome mercholedì pasatto si fecie richiesta sopra le porte di Santo Ispirito, e fuvi 6 architettori... no' vi fu io, perchè ero a Pratto...ma pure io fù de'richiesti e quali furono questi: l'Araldo, Vettorio di Bartolocio, Lorenzo della Gholpaia, Simone del Chaprino, el Chapitano muratore, Giuliano da Maiano, Bernardo Ghaluzi. Vettorio disse de le tre; e Bernardo Ghaluzi e 'l Chapittano dise tre e Quattro in questo mo': che voleva fare nel mezzo una porta grande quanto la nave di mezzo e poi metere una cholona l' mezzo chome ista una finestra a la viniziana; no' fu a provatta per buona ragione. Giuliano da Maiano dise de le tre e provarla per molte ragioni e sempre sosstene del le tre. Sicchè, per tanto noi non ci posiamo isstare per la gran boria che mena el Maiano che dice che a auto questa vettoria. Si chè siatte avissatto. Ispero in Vostra Magnificenza ch'a la tornata vostra siatte quello non laci guastare si bello dificio. Non altro per questa; Cristo di male vi guarda. Vostro servidore, Giuliano Da Sanghalo." Botto identifies Vettorio di

Lorenzo de' Medici was already familiar with the debate, as four years earlier, he had already been asked to publicly arbitrate the matter, but to no avail; but Giuliano da Sangallo was making it a personal matter. First he implied a certain degree of intellectual camaraderie with *Il Magnifico* by explaining the “mullioned door” proposal by Galluzzi and the Captain, and how it was obviously rejected for “good reason”, as Lorenzo had probably already imagined. Then Sangallo criticizes Giuliano da Maiano for his excessive zeal and rhetoric (*gran boria*) in handling the whole affair, as if it was a victory for him and those others who supported the three-door solution. Sangallo suggests that Da Maiano obviously was so obsessed by the thought of winning against his adversaries, that he completely overlooked the importance of what was at stake. Sangallo then flatteringly closes the letter by stating that only Lorenzo had the power to prevent Santo Spirito from being ruined by Da Maiano and his likes.

Saalman explains the cause of the aesthetic factionalism at Santo Spirito not as a result of the uncertainty of Brunelleschi's original intentions, but as a conscious rejection of his known intentions:

I do not believe that the issue was raised merely on the basis of an oral tradition concerning Brunelleschi's opinion... but Filippo's model must have comprised both the four-portal solution and Filippo's interior plan. It was disagreement with Brunelleschi's known intentions that led Salvi d'Andrea to build his three-portal model and to a public discussion of the matter. He was, no doubt, encouraged in his effort by the crescendo of voices from all quarters opposing the four-portal solution.²⁶¹

Since the archival information presented previously in in this chapter, concerning the commissioning of three façade models November 1475, was not available to Saalman at the time of the writing of his landmark monograph, he was unable to know that Salvi's model was one of three facade models commissioned by the *Opera*. More importantly, he also did not know that one of those models did in fact incorporate a four-door solution. So if it were simply a matter, as Saalman suggests, of Salvi's three-door model challenging Brunelleschi's four-door model, why would *Lo Schorbacchia* make another four-

Bartolocio as Vittorio di Lorenzo Ghiberti, and “il Capitano” as Domenico di Francesco di Borgo San Lorenzo (Botto, 1931, 507, n. 2)

²⁶¹ Saalman, 1993, 375.

door façade model if not for the fact that there was indeed general uncertainty about how exactly they should close the southern side of the church? It seems therefore to be highly unlikely that a Brunelleschi façade model ever existed; or if one did, it was somehow no longer compatible with the church being built.

Instead, it seems highly likely that the entire façade controversy was simply the result of the earlier decision of 1473 to enclose the semicircular chapels within a mantling wall. Saalman claims, "Since the notion was first put forward in a plan by Stegman and Geymuller, the idea that the extruded chapels were to be continued around the façade of the church has become widely accepted."²⁶² **(Fig. 47)** These four structures of course would not have been used as actual chapels as they would have accommodated doors. Yet, Saalman himself did not agree with such a hypothesis. He goes on to say,

What could be more logical than that Brunelleschi, aiming at a substantially symmetrical central building, would carry his scheme through with radical thoroughness? It seems to me that this is to attribute to Filippo a rigid approach to design that was not part of his make-up.²⁶³

So, logically, if the plan to accommodate chapel structures along the façade wall had been abandoned, then Brunelleschi's façade model (assuming there was one) would have been obsolete. Furthermore, if four semicircular chapel structures were no longer going to define the façade, there was no longer the need to accommodate four doors. In fact, it may very well be that *Lo Scorbacchia* was trying to somehow salvage Brunelleschi's original plan in his readapted four-door façade model. This would also explain the fervor of those supporters of the four-door façade solution who had realized that one drastic deviation from Brunelleschi's original model - the construction of the mantling wall - was about to dominoe into another - the abandonment of Brunelleschi's original four-door façade solution.

Ultimately, Brunelleschi's idea was abandoned, and the more conventional three-door basilica façade solution was adopted. Had the four doors been built, a very different church would be visible today; the entire design of which, in my opinion, would be much more balanced and harmonious. Giuliano da Sangallo's well known "idealized" drawing of the plan of Santo

²⁶² Ibid., 376.

²⁶³ Ibid.

Spirito - that is, a plan without the mantling wall and with a four-door façade solution is, as Saalman points out, the earliest surviving plan of the building. **(Fig. 17)** It offers us a glimpse of what was lost. Saalman writes,

Giuliano's drawing... shows the church without the outer covering wall, with a façade with four portals, one axially in front of each of the side aisles and one to either side of the central axis. The aisle colonnade is carried around the façade end of the nave in a manner entirely analogous with the ends of the other three arms around the crossing with one column in the centre axis of the nave. The four portals open into four wholly identical aisle bays.²⁶⁴

Botto was the first to describe the façade end of the nave in Sangallo's plan as an original "interior narthex", which would also have improved the harmonics of the church, as the length of the nave would have been twice its width (eight bays to four).²⁶⁵ Quinterio instead describes Sangallo's "idealized" plan of Santo Spirito as "...imagining in this way a sort of continuous ambulatory, essentially an interior contained within a continuous infinity."²⁶⁶ Ultimately, these eloquent architectural descriptions of what might just be the most accurate visual depiction of the church of Santo Spirito - that is, Sangallo's "idealized" plan - as imagined by Brunelleschi do nothing more than evidence what may have been lost because of, as the biographer Manetti put it, "...the errors made and consented to by others."

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Botto, 1931, 507.

²⁶⁶ Quinterio, 1996, 121: "...immaginando così una sorta di deambulatorio continuo, praticamente un interno conchiuso in un infinito continuo."

Conclusion

My investigation into the construction history of the church of Santo Spirito in Florence began several years ago as the result of a casual conversation with Count Niccolò Capponi in his homonymous palace along the southern bank of the Arno River in Florence. The count was rather boastfully recounting how his ancestors had been responsible for thwarting Brunelleschi's alleged intentions of reversing the orientation of Santo Spirito, so that its façade would have faced the river. Little did I know then that my curiosity about the verity of a simple family legend would ultimately lead me to the realization of this doctoral thesis.

I began my investigation, as all scholars dealing with Santo Spirito have before me, by reading Antonio di Tuccio Manetti's late-fifteenth-century biography of Brunelleschi. Like those previous scholars, I accepted Manetti's account regarding Santo Spirito as a reliable chronological and narrative source for the construction history of the church. This impression was subsequently confirmed by the secondary literature dealing with the construction history of the church, all of which incorporated Manetti's account as a narrative and chronological template. The most important consequence of the scholarly consensus regarding Manetti's account was the almost universal incorporation of 1428 as the year in which the construction history of Santo Spirito began.

It was only once I began an archival campaign in the *Archivio di Stato* in Florence, Italy, that I began to realize that the then published corpus of archival documentation regarding Santo Spirito contradicted Manetti's date. As discussed in Chapter I, the earliest known document concerning the construction of the new church is dated January 19, 1434, and the communal funding intended for the construction of the church did not begin to arrive until 1439. So why would scholars have overlooked such a discrepancy? The answer is that an earlier date for the church would have created a greater chronological window for the direct involvement of Brunelleschi (d. 1446) in the project. An earlier date also allowed scholars to insert Santo Spirito into the middle period of Ludwig Heydenreich's stylistic model of Brunelleschi's architectural *oeuvre*, which describes Santo Spirito as a harbinger of the architect's later works.

Yet, Chapter I of this thesis presents a new and definitive chronology for the early Brunelleschian period of construction. The administrative beginnings of the project date back to January 1434, with the formation of the first two-man building *Opera*. Patron-architect relations most likely took place between 1434 and the first assignment of public funding in 1436. Brunelleschi most likely created a scale wooden model of the new church only after public subsidies were assured in 1436, and before the *Opera* began to collect those subsidies in 1439. Only once steady funding began to arrive could actual construction have commenced, most likely at a foundation level, around 1440. Work progressed slowly as communal funding was suspended between 1442 and 1444. Once funding was resumed, so too did steady construction, with the elevation of at least three chapels at the eastern side of the eastern arm of the church. **(Fig. 8, Chapels 27-29)** These chapels would have served as an architectural “sample” for the *cantiere*, with which to complete the first order of architecture for the remainder of the church. The greater part of this construction would eventually be realized without the direction of the architect because Brunelleschi died on April 15, 1446, shortly after building began.

Although Manetti’s chronology regarding Santo Spirito was incorrect, much of what he recounts in his biography is helpful in trying to reconstruct the early building history of the church. His claim that Brunelleschi made a scale wooden model of the new church is confirmed by two later documents. Furthermore, although the biographer’s discussion of Brunelleschi’s intentions of reversing the orientation of the church can not be confirmed, Manetti’s claim that the architect’s idea “did not appeal to the powerful men of that time” can find some confirmation in the fact that both the Capponi and Frescobaldi families did indeed own properties in the area that would have been eventually transformed into a piazza.¹ In fact, nearly a century later, Vasari claimed that the orientation of the church was not reversed “because certain people did not want to... ruin their homes.”² So, perhaps there was some truth to Count Capponi’s claim, although it appears that the influential Frescobaldi family also played a significant role in obstructing Brunelleschi’s alleged plans.

Manetti’s appraisal of the state of construction at the time of Brunelleschi’s death is also accurate. He wrote that Brunelleschi “...began it,

¹ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 124.

² Vasari (Milanesi), 1878, 381.

and founded some chapels and erected a part of it in his day.”³ This assessment is coherent with the building chronology as reflected by archival sources. If, in fact, the chapels constructed during Brunelleschi’s final years are those in the eastern arm of the church, they would also confirm Manetti’s claim that Brunelleschi originally intended extruding chapels to define the exterior of the church. There are, in fact, four semi-circular chapels in the eastern arm of the church that received exterior cornices, confirming that these chapels were intended to be visible from the exterior in their semi-circular forms as well. **(Fig.’s 15 & 29)**

The role that Manetti assigns to the *Opera* in the early days of construction is also important because for much of the decade following Brunelleschi’s death, it was the *Opera* that was most active in trying to consolidate the necessary finances for the project. Most scholars have not addressed the significant role that the *Opera* of Santo Spirito played in the realization of its church. This is due mainly to the fact that the machinations of the *Opera* during this period (1446-1471) are recorded in the *Libretto di deliberazioni degli operai di Santo Spirito 1439-1461*, which is an archival source that had been almost entirely overlooked by Santo Spirito scholars, mainly because of its particularly difficult calligraphy. The almost entirely unpublished information recorded in the *Libretto*, which is discussed in Chapter II, describes an *Opera* that is almost completely preoccupied with recovering outstanding debts during the years immediately following Brunelleschi’s death. Figures such as the *provveditore* (“purveyor of works”) and the *camerlengo* (“treasurer”) were being ordered by the *Opera* to do everything in their power to settle up with debtors to the *Opera*; and often times the measures assumed by the *Opera* were drastic. After threatening actual debtors with debtors’ prison [*lo specchio*], the *Opera* also threatened its *provveditore* with dismissal should he not realize his financial responsibilities. Should the *camerlengo* not recover the debts owed to him, he would also have been sent to debtors’ prison. Such Machiavellian tactics on the part of the *Opera*, whose members would remain nearly the same for over a decade, suggest an urgent need for financial resources for the construction of the church. It would also suggest that communal funding alone was not sufficient to see the project through to completion.

³ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 126.

Such a hypothesis is confirmed by the records of chapel sales in the *Libretto*, beginning on August 10, 1455. A majority of the extant literature concerning Santo Spirito dates the first chapel concessions to the 1480s. Only one scholar noted that chapels were already being conceded in 1455, although she thought these chapels were sold in an “unbuilt church.”⁴ The *Libretto* entry that records the sale of the first two chapels in the new church to Stoldo Frescobaldi in 1455 clearly indicates that the chapels were “being made” [*faciendis*].⁵ **(Fig. 33, Chapels 17 & 18)** This would suggest that standing architecture was probably the impetus for selling chapels. By 1460, eleven crossing chapels and a single nave chapel were either sold or assigned to patrons. That all of these chapels were located around the crossing of the church not only confirms that this was the area in which construction was focused during the first two decades of the project, but also that the state of construction must have been rather advanced if standing chapels were in fact being sold as early as 1455. **(Fig. 33)**

Although not all of the costs of these chapels are recorded, the most consistent cost for the twenty-four crossing chapels was 500 florins. This should have offered the *Opera* significant financial resources, if not for the fact that most of the chapel patrons were either tardy or delinquent in payment. Time and time again, the *Opera* issued ultimatums to the chapel patrons concerning prompt payment, and time and time again these ultimatums went unheeded. So, as opposed to the long-term, multi-year installment plans put in place for earlier chapel patrons, later patrons, such as Mariotto della Palla, were asked to pay for his chapel in full within a month of the purchase date. The final ultimatum issued by the *Opera* was even more dramatic, when it threatened to strip chapels of the coats of arms of their respective patrons if outstanding balances were not settled. What is perhaps most paradoxical is that most of the chapel patrons were also actually *operai*.

As the main church of its homonymous quarter in the *Oltrarno* area of Florence, Santo Spirito should have represented a nexus for patrons from all four of its wards [*gonfalon*]. Instead, with the exception of only one family, the Antinori, patrons from only three wards - *Scala*, *Nicchio* and *Ferza* - essentially monopolized chapel patronage within the church. The near total absence of

⁴ Burke, 2004, 73.

⁵ ASF, Carte Stroziane, II 93, 12v. (Appendix A, Doc. 6.)

patrons from the fourth ward – *Drago* - was actually more of a self-determined alienation by the mainly working-class citizens of *Drago*, than it was a conscious exclusion by the more patrician citizens of the other wards. In fact, the residents of the *Drago* ward saw patronage within their own Mendicant Order church of Santa Maria del Carmine as more important than patronage within the more prominent and larger church of Santo Spirito.

Those families who did take up *ius patronatus* within the chapels of Santo Spirito were some of Florence's most illustrious. Names like Frescobaldi, Capponi, Corbinelli, Biliotti, Pitti, Bardi, Ridolfi and Nasi not only adorn the chapels within the church, but also the pages of Florentine history. With an entirely new church and thirty-eight chapels at their disposal, these families could now purchase the rights of patronage over the church's most important chapels in an attempt to demonstrate their socio-economic status both within the quarter, and also in the larger urban reality of Renaissance Florence. Yet, Brunelleschi's unique design for Santo Spirito, with its "centralized basilica" plan, made determining a traditional socio-architectural hierarchy quite difficult. Since all of the chapels within the church are of equal dimensions, and nearly all of the chapels in the church crossing are equidistant from the high altar, chapel patrons would need to find new ways to express social status. The first solution was simply to buy multiple chapels, and if possible, near to or contiguous with each other. Such a method would physically demarcate an area of the church for a particular family. The four contiguous Corbinelli chapels in the western arm of the church, or the four Capponi chapels in the eastern arm of the church effectively demonstrate the rank of these families in not only having the financial means to afford multiple chapels, but also their socio-political rank in having been afforded the opportunity to actually purchase them. **(Fig. 18 & 33)** Of course, patronage over multiple chapels usually meant patronage by various branches of the same family (*consorteria*). Such was the case for both the above-mentioned families. Yet, since the coats of arms of the various branches were usually the same, it would have been impossible to distinguish between the branches or the chapels.

The Frescobaldi family, which also eventually owned four chapels in Santo Spirito, purchased two contiguous chapels in an area of the church adjacent to their property. **(Fig. 33, Chapels 17 & 18)** This eventually allowed them to extend the walls of their later, seventeenth-century palace up to the

exterior wall of their chapels, and to create a window that looks directly into the church from their home. **(Fig. 19)** Ultimately, all of the solutions for expressing social hierarchy were dependent on what I call “patron primacy.” In other words, those families that were given the earliest opportunity to purchase chapels would have enjoyed primacy in regards to both the location and the availability of chapels. That the rights over the first two chapels were sold to the Frescobaldi family is not surprising. In addition to consistently providing *operai* for the church, the Frescobaldi family also owned the rights over the main chapel (*cappella maggiore*) in the old church of Santo Spirito. In fact, serving on the *Opera* and having been a chapel patron in the old church were the two most effective means by which to not only acquire the rights over a chapel in the new church, but also to be given precedence in that acquisition.

In March 1452, three years before chapel sales began, the *Libretto* records the presence of *scarpellatori*, or “stonecutters” at the *cantiere*. In addition to being the first-documented mention of workmen at Santo Spirito, their presence also suggests that construction had moved beyond the building of the perimeter walls in brick, and on to the application of stone dressings to the walls, and perhaps even on to the elevation of some freestanding structural elements. In fact, the first column was raised at the building site only two years later on May 23, 1454.⁶ This was most likely the central, freestanding column in the eastern arm of the church. **(Fig. 36)** The *Libretto* mentions other builders as well, such as Antonio di Manetti Ciaccheri, who is generally believed to be Brunelleschi’s successor at Santo Spirito. Four months after Ciaccheri’s death on November 8, 1460, the woodcutter, Giovanni di Domenico da Gaiole (known as *il Grasso*), was appointed as the new *capomaestro*. Curiously in later records, Da Gaiole would be identified as a simple *scarpellatore*. Only one month after Da Gaiole’s appointment, another *capomaestro*, Giuliano di Sandrino, was appointed, presumably for his knowledge and experience with lifting machines. It appears that construction was progressing to the second order of architecture in the crossing area of the church.

The records of the *Libretto* end in 1461, and there are no known archival sources dating to the subsequent decade. Yet, a later documentary source called the *Libro dei Debitori e Creditori dal 1471[1472]-1481*, which has also been almost entirely overlooked by scholars, not only presents a vivid picture of

⁶ For the document describing the event, see Richa, 1761, XI, 13.

construction during this period, but it also confirms the state of construction proposed in Chapter II. That is, a state of construction where a majority of the crossing of the church was completed by 1472. **(Fig. 41)** This later *Libro* records the nearly daily income, expenses and building activity at Santo Spirito for a nine-and-a-half year period. In addition to mapping out the progression of construction of the church by indicating just exactly where building was taking place, the records of the *Libro* also reveal a great deal about the finances of construction, which is a relatively unexplored subject for Florentine churches.

The greatest construction expense at Santo Spirito was for building materials, which made up for 50.4% of the total expenditures during this period (1471-1481). The purchase of brick and stone respectively represented nearly two-thirds and one-fifth of the total building material costs. Based on the payment records to the *fornciai* ("kiln men" who were mainly employed in the production of brick during this period) and the recorded cost of bricks at the *cantiere* between 1472 and 1481, approximately 1,000,000 were employed in the realization of the nave. Labor cost nearly as much as materials, constituting 49.6% of the total expenditures recorded in the *Libro*, and was in turn nearly evenly divided between skilled and unskilled workers. Transportation costs made up one-third of the labor expenses, followed closely by the employment of *scarpellatori* (stonecutters). Expenses for *maestri* and *manovali* were also nearly equal, collectively constituting nearly one-third of total labor costs. The breakdown of building costs at Santo Spirito is very much in line with those of contemporary projects in Renaissance Florence. For instance, at the late-fifteenth-century Palazzo Strozzi, the costs of building materials and labor costs were also nearly equal. Although at Palazzo Strozzi, *pietra forte* represented the greatest building material expense, and skilled labor exceeded unskilled in terms of labor expense. Yet despite these differences, a comparative analysis of the finances of fifteenth-century building projects in Florence does begin to produce a distinct model for the costs of building.

Reconciling these costs with the known financial resources at the disposal of the *Opera* reveals that communal funding alone was not sufficient for the completion of the church, although it would have been critical in actually allowing construction to begin. Once construction did begin, private patrons could then confidently invest in the *ius patronatus* over the churches many chapels. In fact, the greatest source of revenue for the *Opera* of Santo Spirito

was from private chapel patronage within the church. So, both public and private sources of funding played significant parts in the realization of Santo Spirito. Communal funding provided the necessary financial resources for construction to begin, thereby assuring private investors, who in turn, provided the necessary resources for the completion of the church through chapel patronage. By 1471, at least ten crossing chapels had been sold.

That secure funding went hand in hand with steady construction is demonstrated by the fact that while the crossing of Santo Spirito required three decades to complete, the nave, façade and vaulting of the church were completed in less than two decades. As shown in Chapter III, 2, by the summer of 1472, workmen were covering the area of the crossing, as evidenced by the presence of a *maestro dei tetti* (“master of roofing”). With the crossing nearly complete, construction could now move on to the completion of the nave of the church. With part of the western nave wall already built, and a single column already standing, a *fondatore* (“founder”) is recorded at the worksite by the fall of the same year, presumably to lay foundations for the remainder of the nave wall. By February 1473, a large *cantiere* of thirty-two workers and suppliers was seeing the western nave wall through to completion. As this wall was completed, the western nave colonnade was also gradually erected, and finally completed by November 1475. **(Fig. 42)**

One of the most important deviations from Brunelleschi’s original design for Santo Spirito was also made during this period – that is, the decision to enclose the semi-circular chapels within a mantling wall. This decision was most likely motivated by both the need to increase burial space within the chapels, and to expedite construction. In addition to financial issues, perhaps part of the reason the completion of the crossing had taken so long was the more complicated form of an undulating perimeter wall as defined by extruding semi-circular chapels, and the time that was required to build such a wall. A simpler, rectilinear wall enclosing polygonal chapels would require less time to complete. While Brunelleschi’s earlier successor at Santo Spirito, Antonio di Manetti Ciaccheri, has traditionally been accused of making this decision, the documentary evidence presented in Chapter III, 3, clearly indicates that the decision was made under the direction of Giovanni di Mariano, better known as *Lo Scorbacchia*, by the fall of 1473.

By November 1476, the eastern nave wall and its corresponding colonnade were completed, and by the following year, construction of the second order of architecture in the nave and of the crossing piers began. **(Fig. 43)** In 1479, the then acting *capomaestro*, Salvi d'Andrea, produced a wooden model of the crossing dome, and two years later the construction of that dome was completed. As the nave and crossing arms were being covered with timber roofs, the church was also being whitewashed, and leftover building materials and debris were removed from the building site. The church was rapidly nearing completion, with only the façade left to build.

Much has been written concerning the façade controversy at Santo Spirito, which took nearly a decade to resolve. The general uncertainty regarding the number of doors to include in the façade wall (three or four) indicates that the Brunelleschi model of Santo Spirito was most likely lacking a façade wall. This hypothesis is supported by a previously unknown record in the *Libro* (discussed in Chapter III, 2) that records the commission for three façade models from three different men - Salvi d'Andrea, *Lo Schorbacchia*, and Domenico da Prato – in November 1475. Only *Lo Schorbacchia's* model incorporated a four-door solution, and since he was in the direct line of Brunelleschi's successors at Santo Spirito (Ciaccheri, Da Gaiole, Di Sandrino before him), presumably he would have had a more precise idea of Brunelleschi's intentions. Yet, others clearly had differing opinions. After five years of public debate involving such illustrious protagonists as Lorenzo de'Medici, Vittorio Ghiberti, Giuliano da Sangallo, Giuliano da Maiano and at least forty-two private citizens who were asked to participate in a final public plebiscite, the decision was made to incorporate three doors.

As intriguing as the well-documented façade controversy is, it also reveals a general uncertainty regarding major aspects of Brunelleschi's design for Santo Spirito, despite the wooden model that he left behind. In fact, in his letter to Lorenzo de'Medici, Giuliano da Sangallo implored *il Magnifico* to intervene in the façade controversy in order to prevent the church from being ruined.⁷ Such dramatic tones by near contemporaries of Brunelleschi demonstrate the reverence shown to the great architect, but also how important it was to them to remain as faithful as possible to Brunelleschi's artistic intentions for his buildings, many of which were left unfinished upon his death in

⁷ For Sangallo's letter, see Chapter III, 2.

1446.⁸ If such uncertainty was already present mere decades after Brunelleschi's death, how much further removed from those artistic intentions are we, centuries later? The first step in any attempt to discover a past architect's original conception for a building is to restore a proper historical identity to that building.

It is curious that while Brunelleschi's other great church, San Lorenzo, continues to receive a great deal of scholarly attention, very little has been given to Santo Spirito.⁹ This may, in part, be the result of the particular great patron/great architect relationship present at the Medici church of San Lorenzo. But it may also be the result of the "general uncertainty" about Santo Spirito, from both an historical and architectural perspective, which still surrounds the church. This thesis has done much to construct an historical identity for Santo Spirito. First by setting out a revised chronology for the beginnings of the project. By moving Santo Spirito into a later phase of Brunelleschi's *oeuvre*, the church can no longer be considered a transitional mid-career work of the architect, but must instead be reconsidered in the context of Brunelleschi's other late works, such as the *Exedra* and Lantern of Florence cathedral.

Moreover, the significant amount of unpublished archival documentation presented in this thesis provides a definitive chronological framework for the progression of construction, beginning in Brunelleschi's own lifetime and through to the completion of the church four decades later. This framework has completed what has hitherto been a very fragmentary construction history regarding the church, limiting previous scholarly discussions to only the beginning and the end of the project. It also answers many of the lingering questions regarding Brunelleschi's architectural inheritance. Firstly, that the decision to enclose Brunelleschi's extruding chapels within a mantling wall was made under the direction of *Lo Schorbacchia* in the fall of 1473. Secondly, that there is no documentary evidence to suggest that a barrel-vaulted covering to the church was ever considered. Lastly, that the façade controversy was the consequence of the lack of definitive façade model by Brunelleschi.

Yet, the church must also be considered beyond its Brunelleschian context, and inserted into the larger social and historical traditions of Early

⁸ For Brunelleschi's other buildings, see Introduction.

⁹ For examples of recent scholarship concerning San Lorenzo, see Trachtenberg, 2015, 140-172; and Trachtenberg, 2010.

Renaissance Florence. While the *Opera* of Florence cathedral is the quintessential model of communal building administration in medieval and Renaissance Florence, the almost entirely new information presented in this thesis regarding the role of the *Opera* at Santo Spirito not only provides a comparative model for future study, but also a deeper understanding of the specific roles and responsibilities of the *Opera*'s various offices. Since many of the *operai* at Santo Spirito were also the patrons of the church's primary chapels, the *Opera* at Santo Spirito served not only as a *liaison* between the commune and the neighborhood, but also served to control how neighborhood patronage shaped the church. While a certain amount of scholarship does exist concerning specific chapel patrons at Santo Spirito, the great number of chapels and subsequent variety of patrons leaves much for further study. The previously unpublished archival records of chapel sales that began in 1455, which are discussed in Chapter II, 3, of this thesis focus specifically on the patrons of the crossing chapels. Not only does this information reveal a great deal about the social history of the church, but it also concisely inserts the important role of neighborhood patronage into the overall construction history of the church.

The role and identity of the *cantiere* at Santo Spirito is another means by which the church is inserted into a larger context of building tradition in Florence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Like most *cantieri* of the time, the one at Santo Spirito was quite fluid in structure, and the number of workers was in continual flux. A panoply of laborers and suppliers provided the building site with both labor and materials. The significant amount of unpublished documentation discussed in Chapter III concerning the infrastructure, finances and almost daily activity of the *cantiere* provides a succinct case study of a fifteenth-century *cantiere*, as well the finances involved in building a church in Early Renaissance Florence.

The objective of this thesis was to complete the hitherto fragmentary construction history of one of the most important churches of the Renaissance. By properly exploring and analyzing all the aspects that are a part of the Renaissance building tradition – the architect, architectural inheritance, the *Opera*, the *quartiere*, the *cantiere*, and finances – a new and complete historical identity for the church emerges; an historical identity that is as much a product of communal bureaucracy, socio-economic traditions, human and financial

resources, as it was of creative genius. This complex network behind the architecture serves as testimony to the determination of Renaissance Florentines to actualize the creative ideas of the extraordinary artists and architects who came forth from their city. At Santo Spirito, the result was, in the words of the biographer Antonio di Tuccio Manetti, a church that "...had no peer in Christendom."¹⁰

¹⁰ Manetti (Saalman), 1970, 126.

Appendix A: Unpublished Documentation

1.) CRS, 122, 60 “Libro di Dare e Davere” - (first lay *Opera* of Santo Spirito)

June 16, 1425

f. 1r. - Il detto libro si terra per Francesco di Lorenzo _____ sindaco e procuratore eletto per savi e di frati huomini operai eletti per lo venerabile padre Messer Aghostino da Roma generale del detto ordine di Santo Agostino il quali nominati saranno operai da _____. In prima saranno eletti per lo detto padre Messer lo generale cioe I scritti operai apre

Nicholo di Lucha di Feo- mercatante chaniliatore
Leonardo di Gherardo Rianti (?) - lanaiuolo
Giovanni di Tomaso Chorbinelli- lanaiuolo
Giovanni di Michele (?)Chaponi-
Sandro di Giovanni Biliotti- lanaiuolo
Antonio di Michele Velluti- lanaiuolo

L' adetta (persone) del detto Francesco sindacho e procuratore fu fatta da chonsentimento del detto venerabile padre Messer lo generale e di volonta e chonsentimento di sesantadue frati ragunati nel chapitolo del convento di Sant'Agostino di Firenze tutti dacordo della detta [illegible] roghato Messer Domenico d'Arigho di Messer Piero Murini cittadino Fiorentino
Adì 16 di giugno persino passato MCCCCXXV

2.) *Manoscritti*, 622 (lists of new and old chapel patrons in Santo Spirito)

Sepoltuario di Tutto il Quartiere di Santo Spirito dove Saranno Notate Tutte Le Cappelle e Sepulture con Tutte l'Armi Tasselli et Iscitioni Antiche di Tutte Le Chiese che sono in detto Quartiere

f. 1r.

Incomincia lo spoglio delle Cappelle e le Sepulture di Santo Spirito

Cominciando da man (rittà) la prima Capella verso la piazza grande

1. Cappella prima della Compagnia del Raffa venduta a Raffaello di Luca Torrigiani
2. Cappella seconda di Giovanni Batista del Riccio
3. Cappella terza fatta da Messer Niccolo Bicchielli e di poi venutone eredi e frati la vendorono à Lavacchi
4. Cappella quarta della familgia de Cini
5. Cappella quinta de' Cambi, Napoleone Cambi et suora
Spenta per la morte del Signore Girolamo del Signore Napoleone Cambi
Lastra alla porta del fianco Francesco (Manetti) et _____
6. Capella sesta de Petrini

Nella lastra di marmo in detta cappella con arme antica di Commeso con I capi di bronzo vi e certe lettere antiche che dicono + Andrea de Zenobi Petrini e (suone)

7. Cappella settima della Famiglia della Palla
Mariotto della Palla
Con un epitaffio murato in detta cappella che dice e perche spenta della famiglia ne loro eredi di detta cappella I Buon Huomini di San Martino
8. Cappella Ottava de Capponi
Niccolo del (Grapo) Capponi et suora (?)

f.1v.

9. Cappella Mona de Capponi
10. Cappella de' cima de Velluti
11. Cappella dei Rosci (?)
12. Cappella de' Nerli (Tanai de Nerli)
13. Cappella de' Nasi
14. Cappella de' Capponi (Neri di Gino Capponi et suora)
15. Capella de' Capponi (Reccho Capponi et suora ??)
16. Cappella de' Ridolfi
17. Cappella de' Vettori

f. 2r.

18. Cappella de' Biliotti
19. Cappella de' Pitti (Luca Pitti et suora)
20. Cappella de Cini Miniato di Cino Cini (già de' Frescobaldi)
21. Cappella de' Bardi (Giovanni Bardi et suora)
22. Cappella de' Frescobaldi
23. Cappella de' Frescobaldi (Stoldo Frescobaldi et Suora)
24. Cappella de gli Ubertini
25. Cappella de' Bini (Piero Bini et suora)
26. Cappella de' Corbinelli
27. (28, 29) Cappella de' Corbinelli con due altre cappelle di detta famiglia
30. Cappella de' Segni (Bernardo Segni et Suora)

f. 2v.

31. Cappella de' Antinori
32. Cappella de' Cavalcanti che prima era de'
33. Cappella de' Dei (Rinieri Dei et Suora)
34. Cappella de' Segni (Alessandro Segni et Suora)
35. Cappella de gli Antinori (Raffaello di Gregorio Antinori et ____)
36. Cappella de' Frescobaldi (Girolamo Frescobaldi)
37. Cappella del Riccio (Guglielmo del Riccio)
38. Cappella ultima de' Bettoni (Antonio Bettoni et Suora)

NOTE: SEPOLTURE NEI CHIOSTRI

f. 17r. - Cappelle e Sepulture della Chiesa Vecchia di Santo Spirito

La cappella maggiore de' Frescobaldi

La cappella da lato de' Frescobaldi di Messer Castellano

La cappella di Santa Maria dice Lambertucci e credo sia de' Frescobaldi del lato di Messer Lambertuccio donde pigliasse questo nome e tanto sia che dentro si have fatto la sepultura Lionardo di Niccolò Frescobaldi

La cappella di San Matteo de' Biliotti

La cappella di San Niccolo Vescovo de' Capponi

La cappella di Santo Pietro e Paolo de' Rospi

La cappella di Santo Michele del'Ischia

La cappella di Santo Stefano di quei di Puccio Bencivenni ma vi è aggiunto da un'altra mano de' Pettrini ma parla della sepultura

La cappella di San Nicolo da Tolentino de' Vettori

La Cappella dei Magi de' Ridolfi

La cappella di San Filippo de' Macchiavelli

La cappella di Santo Jacopo de' Corsini

La cappella di Sant'Antonio de' Biliotti

La cappella del Infermeria di Gherardo Manfredi

SEPOLTURE AVANTI CHE BRUCIASSE LA CHIESA DI SANTO SPIRITO

De Buondelmonti due

De Biliotti due

De nerli

De Federigo de Nerli

De Pulci

De Manelli

Di Capestro Adimari

Di Messer Donato Velluti

De Bardi quattro

Mess. Usciatto de' Bardi

Messer Jacopo di Messer Guido de' Bardi

Bindo di Messer Jacopo de' Bardi

Figli di _____ Bardi

De Frescobaldi di Messer Castellano de' Frescobaldi
Lionardo di Niccolo due
Polito Frescobaldi
Delle donne del lato di Berto di Simone Frescobaldi
Delle donne di Messer Castellano Frescobaldi
Delle donne di Mattio Frescobaldi
Di Stoldo di Niccolo Frescobaldi
Di Rospi 3
Di Bonerello de' Rospi
De Capponi
Di Capponcino di Mico
De' Ridolfi di piazza
De' Pallarcioni due
Di Ridolfo di Bartolo Ridolfi di Bargo
Di Salvestro e Giorgio d'Andrea di Tello del Ischia
De Machiavelli
De Cerchi
De Lamaglianti
De gl'infangati
De' Ciuffiagni

f. 18r.

Degli Amieri
Agniolo di Andrea Vettori
Tommaso di Piero Parigi
Angiolieri
Angiolieri e Bancossi
Corsini
Messer Neri Corsini Vescovo, in Arca
Filgi di Giovanni di Ser Legna
Rinucci
Di Albizzo Rinucci
Di Messer Alessandro Rinucci in Arca nel muro
Degli Strozzi
Di Giovanni li Luigi Strozzi
Di Messer Luigi e Francesco Guicciardini
Niccolo di Etifieri
Filippo di Tommaso di nome Guidetti
Di Arnaldo Gugliemi
Di Sandro Maffetti
Gherardo Manfredi
Iacopo e Zanobi di Banco di Puccio Bencivenni aggiuntasi d'altra mano de'
Petrini

2.) ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, III, 9/bis.

f. 175 r.

Santo Spirito di Firenze de frati heremitani l'anno 1387 il commune di Firenze ordino che in memoria della vittoria [ha avuta] nel territorio di Mantova il detto Comune e suoi collegati convento di S. Agostino si dovesse gli Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore fare una cappella in detta chiesa sotto il titolo di detto Santo nella quale si spendesse s. 1000, e non essendo sino all'anno 1441 stata fatta, egli Operai di Santo Spirito facendo istanza si facesse.

3.) ASF, *Mercanzia*, 271,

f. 39r.

(Left Margin) Electio Operariorum Sancti Spiriti

Prefati sex consilarii, servatis servandis, eligerunt et deputaverunt in operarios opere nove ecclesie Sancti Spiritus ordinis beati Augustini pro tempore et termino unius anni hodie initiandi cum infrascripta auctoritate:

Franciscum Nicolai del Benino
Franciscum Tommasi Johannis
Dominum Laurentium Antonii Ridolfi
Johannem Tommasi Corbinelli
Sandrum Johannis Biliotti
Nerum Gini de Capponibus
Johannem Jacopbi Lutozzo Nasi
Gherardum domini Filippi de Corsinis et
Giannozzum Bernardi Manetti

Et in eorum notarium pro dicto tempore:

Ser Pierum Jacobi Francisi notarium florentinum. Et primo. Quod pecunia ad ipsorum manos pervenienda virtute reformationis super hiis edite per opportune consilia sub die [blank] expendantur et solvantur per operarios et ipsorum camerarium secundum formam dicte reformationis et pro causis in ea contentis, et propterea computum retinere per scripturam.

Item. Quod ipsi teneatur et debeant reddere computum et rationem omnium per eos et eorum offitium administrandorum ad omnem requisitionem [et] voluntatem dictorum sex vel duarum partium.

4.) ASF, *Mercanzia*, 273

f. 97v.-98r.

Die Sabbati 30 Jan 1439

(Left Margin) Stantiamentum pro opera ecclesie Sancti Spiritus

Prefati sex consilarii, absente Manno, servata servandis, secundum ordinamenta, deliberaverunt et stantiaverunt quod camerarios dicte universitatis tam presens quam futurus de pecunia a suas manos perventa vel pervenienda a camerario gabelle salis civitatis Florentie pro denariis tribus solvendis per quilibet summentem sal vel salinam pro quolibet quarto salis vel saline pro constructione seu refectione ecclesie Sancti Spiritus de Florentia vigore per provisionis obtente et firmate per opportune consilia populi et communis florentie de mense Martii anni mccccxxv videlicet die xxij dicti mensis in consilio communis continentis legum et ordinamentorum subspensionem; et perum alterius provisionis obtente in dictis consiliis de mense Aprilis mccccxxvi scilicet in consilio communis die quinto eiusdem mensis et continentis dicte solutionis denariorum 3 pro quolibet quarto salis vel saline fiende ut supra; prout de dictis provisionibus constare vidi manu Johannis Pieri de Stia, notarii Florentini, et coadutoris providi viri Ser Filippi Ugolini, scribe reformationum consiliorum populi et communis Florentie, posit ac etiam teneatur et debeat dare et solve.

(Below) Operariis ecclesie Sancti Spiritus de Florentia superscriptis pro constructione sive refectione dicte ecclesie libras quingentas s.p.

5.) Carte Stroziane, III, 15

“Ristretto di Vite di Pittori, Scultori e Architetti: Estratte da vari Autori da me Carlo Tommaso Strozzi, 1731”

f. 17r.

Brunellesco

Cioè Filippo di Ser Brunellesco

Scultore, e Architetto ingigne

Nasce L'anno 1377

Muore L'anno 1446 Vive Anni ----- 69

Il padre del nostro Filippo, che fù Ser Brunellesco di Lapo proveniente dalla Famiglia Bacherini, e ciò da un Messer della mia Libreria Segreto DX n. gg2 202 ignoto al Vasari, ebbe dico il di Lui padre in animo di adattare il figliuolo alla propria Sua professione di notaio, ma non inclinando questi agli studi prammabicali fù uomo di porlo al mestiere dell'orafo, ove ben volentieri si arrecò per la necessità di imparare il disegno, al quale egli fortemente inclinava. In questo mestiero adunque fece Filippo un meraviglioso profitto tal che in breve gli furono dati a fare per l'Opera di S. Jacopo di Pistoia due mezze figure d'argento esprimenti due Profeti collocate poscia nella testa dell'altare di detta chiesa; Quindi invagliandosi ardentemente della scultura strinse amicizia con Donatello. Viveva in quei tempi Lorenzo Ghiberti, il quale in concorrenza di Donatello, il nostro Filippo, e di molti altri aveva fatto il disegno e saggio per le porte di S. Giovanni, e risaltando sopra tutti gl'altri l'operazione di Ghiberti, Filippo, e Donatello concordemente dissero a Consoli dell'Arte, come il Ghiberti meritava d'avere un tal lavoro, ne essi si vergognarono di cederli il campo: bontà di quell secolo non consimile al nostro. Di poi Filippo, Donatello passarono a Roma, e il nostro Filippo, che già si era dato allo Studio dell'Architettura senz averne maestro, in luogo del quale subentrati erano

l'ingegno suo profondo e l'osservazione continua. Si immerse adunque in essa talmente suo studio facendo maggiormente sopra le vastissime fabbriche tanto sacre, che profane, che vi vedeva; Vero e che mancando il danaro tanto a lui, che a Donatello se ne tornarono a un per volta a Firenze. Aveva già da più anni il nostro Filippo dati stupendi saggi della riuscita che far dovea nell'architettura, onde aveva avuto fino ne primi tempi de suoi studi in essa non sò quale ingerenza per la Villa della Petraia degli Strozzi (e nella Torre vi è l'arme loro) siccome nel Palazzo de' Signori.

Circa all'anno 1420 fu pensiero de' Consoli dell'Arte della Lana, e degli Operai di Santa Maria del Fiore di fare la cupola per lo che fù scritto in diverse parti del mondo per via de' i nostri mercanti, che invitassero quà gl'architetti più rinomati di qualunque provincia vennero questi finalmente, e fù cosa gustosa il sentire i diversi loro pareri. In questo congresso v'intervennero pure Filippo, ed il suo parere fù stimato il più scimunito di tutti gl'altri, perche senza centine ed armature proponeva d'avvoltare la cupola (termine usato dal Vasari). Vero è che Filippo si arrabbiò tanto di poi co' consoli, informandoli a parte e sincerandoli che risolverno di appoggiarne a lui questo lavoro e perche di esso non si fidavano totalmente gli dettero per compagno Lorenzo Ghiberti il quale nella sua profession era valente come lo dimostrano le porte di S. Giovanni, ma nell' architettura non frizzava già molto. Fece a dunque tanto Filippo che si sgabellò del compagno Lorenzo, il quale non gli dava aiuto ne lume nessuno, ma faceva sempre il seguitus.

Restò per tanto a lui solo l'ingerenza, e fu dichiarato governatore e capo con fiorini cento l'anno di provvisione. Con quanta applicazione egli accuorisce a questa opera chi lo può pensare? Egli andava da se alla fornace ed il lavoro di sua mano sceglieva; egli faceva agli scarpellini la mostra come dovevano essere le diverse augnature de' marmi e per vantaggio dell'Opera e degli Operai, che si sfiatavano a salire lassù e molto tempo perdevano fece aprire dell'osteria sul lavoro medesimo. In oltre per via d'una ruota e di gravissimi contrappesi trovò il ripiego che un bue levasse in alto pesi gravissimi e tali che sarebbero stati difficili ad alzarsi da sei paio di bovi.

L'invenzione di bucare la pietra a ulivella per cui fortemente s'imbiotta a si tira in alto qualunque massima di pietra fù parto del suo prodigioso ingegno. La grande attività e franchezza di Filippo si diffuse a beneficio della città tutta.

Per la famiglia de' Pazzi fece la vasta cappella sotto le loggie di S. Croce, siccome condusse il disegno per la casa, e la Loggia degl' Innocenti. A Cosimo de' Medici fece il modello della Badia di Fiesole e tutta la fabbrica (dice il Vasari) che costasse al [prezzo?] cento mila scudi. Ne tempi di Filippo fù nobilitata la chiesa di S. Lorenzo, di cui la sagrestia è suo disegno. Il Palazzo de' Pitti fu fatto già faro da Luca Pitti, e vi ebbe gran mano Filippo, e ne diede il disegno.

Incominciandosi verso l'anno 1440 la nuova chiesa di S. Spirito, non come dice il Vasari per l'incendio della piccola chiesa antica, il quale accade la notte de' 21 marzo 1470 che vale a dire trenta anni dopo alla principiata maestosa fabbrica, ne fu dato tutto il pensiero a Filippo, il quale tanto bene l'ordinò che non si può fare opera per ordine di colonne e per altri ornamenti, ne più ricca, ne più vaga, ne più ariosa di quella. Finalmente, divenuto già molto vecchio, cioè d'anni 69, l'anno 1446 a 16 di aprile se n'andò a miglior vita.

Fù Filippo sparuta della persona non meno che Ser Forese da Rabatta, Fu uomo faceto e nel suo cagionare molto arguto. Dolsse infinitamente alla patria sua, che lo conobbe e lo stomò più morto che non fece vivo. Fu seppellito con onoratissime esequie in S. Maria del fiore. Ivi si vede il suo busto

ed epitaffio e Giovanni Battista Strozzi della sua miracolosa opera della cupola così canto:

Tal sopra tasso sasso
Di giro in giro esternamente io strussi
Che così passo, passo
Alto girando al ciel mi condussi

6.) ASF, Carte Stroziane, II, 93

“Libretto delle Deliberazioni dell’Opera di Santo Spirito: 1446-1461”

f. 9r.

In Dei nomine amen. Anno Domini MCCCCXLV, die XXVII februarii [1446 modern]

Existentibus pro populo et Comuni florentie Operariis Opere ecclesie Sancti Spiritus de Florentia nobiles et prudentes viri

Tommasio Bartolomei de Corbinellis
Laurentio gini de Capponibus
Pietro Gregorii del Benino
Bernardo domini Laurentii de Ridolfis et
Stoldo Leonardi de Frescobaldis

Dicta die 27 februarii 1445 [1446 modern]

Supradicti operarii etc., absente dicto Tommasio, deliberaverunt quod Provisor dictorum operariorum seu alius eorum nomine posit vendere aliquam rem dicte opere alicui persone pro aliquo pretio absque pecunia numerata, pro valore dicte rei, ac etiam aliquam rem dicte opere alicui commodare sine expressa licentia dictorum Operariorum. Mandantes dicto Provisori predicta observare etc.

f. 9v.

Die V aprilis 1446

Supradicti operarii etc., absente Tonino etc., deliberaverunt et stantiaverunt Iohanni Pieronis, lastraiuolo et sotiis, florenos nonaginta auri eisdem pro solvendo potquam conduxerunt in opera unam columpnam de quinque quas promiserunt perficere et conducere secundum pacta et promissionem per eos factam, ut patet per publicum instrumentum, de pecunia dicte opere pervenienda ab Opera Sancte Marie del Fiore, pro uno stantiamento facto de florinis centum quinquaginta.

Item ut supra eligerunt in provisorem di[c]te Opere Sancti Spiritus prudentum virum

Bernardum Bartolomei del Benino, civem florentinum, pro tempore initiato die quintodecimo mensis octobris 1445, cum salario alias declarando etc.

Die XXprimo aprilis

Supradicti operarii etc. deliberaverunt quod

Bonus Iohannis Boni pro multis rebus habitis ab tempore Gherardi Frescobaldi. Que faciunt summam librarum 211 s. 15 d.8, restat debitor librarum centum. Et illud plus sit pro compensatione denariorum que dicta opera tenuit dicti Boni compensando unum in aliud

f. 10r.

Dicta die XXprima aprilis

Supradicti operarii etc. deliberaverunt quod salarium Gherardi Leonardi Frescobaldi, olim provisorij dicte opere, intelligatur esse et sit pro toto tempore servito dicte opere usque ad tempus sue mortis, floreni ducenti et vigintiquinque de sigillo. Et sic eidem stantiaverunt et quod ad eius computum ponatur

Item ut supra eligerunt

Bonum Iohannis Boni in camerarium dicte opere sine aliquo salario prout in preteritum fuit, pro tempore duraturo usque ad per totum mensem aprilis 1447

Die XXV ianuarii 1446[1447]

Supradicti operarii, absente Tommasio etc., deliberaverunt et constituerunt procuratorem etc.

Ser Nicholaum Valentini, notarium florentinum, ad agendum etc., item ad faciendum capi etc. et relapsum etc. debitores dicte opere

Item quod provisor dicte opere intelligatur remotus a dicto eius officio si non dederit hinc ad unam mensem proxime futurum debitores dicte opere a decem libris supra dicto Nicholao ut cogantur ad solvendum camerario dicte opere, et non solvendo graventur personaliter in bonis.

Item ut supra eligerunt in camerarium dicte opere

Nicholaum Amerigi de Frescobaldis et socios camprores, cum hoc quod primo sit solutum Bono Iohannis Boni, olim camerario, de eo quod nuper debet a dicte opera.

f. 10v.

Dicta die XXV ianuarii 1446[1447]

Soprdicti operarii, absque Tommasio etc., stantiaverunt Iohannis Peronis, lastraiuolo, conductori quinque columnarum dicte opere, quadraginta florenos pro parte, et hoc quando conduxerit in dicte opera unam ex dicti columnis cum sua perfectione, ex denariis et creditis opere Sante Maria del Fiore pertinentibus dicte opere.

Die XX mensis Maii 1447

Tomaso di Bartolomeo Corbinelli
Pietro di Ghorò del Benino
Bernardo di messer Lorenzo Ridolfi
Stoldo di Lionardo Frescobaldi

Operai dell'opera di Sancto Spirito detto, insieme di nuovo ragunati, absente Lorenzo di Gino Capponi, loro compagno, deliberarono che Antonio di Giovanni Benci, cittadino fiorentino, el quale è debitore di detta opera in lire 37 s. 5 d. 4 piccioli, perche dice avere facto accordo con Gherardo proveditore passato di detta Opera, di vendita d'una casa si vende all'Opera per sei mesi che gli fu sustentuo el pagamento di fiorini 400 e perdente la pigione per detto tempo, dice non dovere dare e detti danari, ma doversi compensare in dicto ristoro di pigione, che ogni volta ache detto Antonio volesse dare o non dare alcuna cosa di detta quantità se ne stia al suo giuramento, agravando la coscienza sua etc.

f. 11r.

Dicta die [May 22 1447]

Sopradetti Operari abbiendo avvertenza che alla petitione prestanzia è stato gra[va]to le rede di Madonna Pagliola, donna fu d'Antonio Brunelli da Chastello San Giovanni, nella corte del Podestà di detto Castello San Giovanni per fiorini cinquanta d'oro, deliberarono che dette rede diano e paghino a detta Opera e loro camarlingo, per di qui a tutto Ottobre proximo futuro 1447, fiorini dieci e del resto di detta quantità paghino ogni sei mesi fiorini tre e mezzo d'oro per insino in detta quantità. Et per questo debbano dette rede sodare per buono et ydoneo mallevadore, el quale si debba e debbano approvare per Stoldo di Lionardo lor compagno, et così faciendo sieno liberi dal gravamento et non altrimenti.

Ego Bindellus Donis de Certaldo, notarius et civis florentinus, de predictis duobus partitis rogatus ad fidem me subscripsi

Die V iulii 1447

Supradicti Operarii insimul congregati etc., absente Laurentio Gini eorum consotio, deliberaverunt et stantiaverunt
Domine Nanne vidue uxori olim Iohannis magistri Nicholi, florenos septuaginta septem auri et soldos [blank] pro resto cuiusdam emptionis facte per dictam Operam a dicta domina, de dimidia unius domus posite prope dictam Operam, ut constat manu ser Verdiani ser Donati, notarii florentini

f. 11v.

+ adì 20 di lugl[i]o 1450

Lorenzo di Gino Chaponi
Pietro di Ghirigono del Benino
Bernardo di messer Lorenzo Ridolfi

Stoldo Frescobaldi

Absente Tomaso Corbinelli, deliberorono che il proveditore dovesse notificare a tutti debitori dell'Opera che avessero pagato tutto quello dovessero dare al'Opera detta infra 15 di, altrimenti che sarebbero mandati alo specchio, e in caso che fra il tempo non avesson pagato, il detto proveditore inmantinente li avesse mandato a specchio, e non mandandoli si intendesse essere privato dell'ufficio suo.

La detta deliberatione si fe' al'Arte di Porta Sancta Maria, rogata per Silvano, notaio di ser Ruberto et suo aiutatore.

Adi detto notificossi la detta deliberatione per ciedola di mano del proveditore, da Bonsi, ministro di detta Opera, e in persona a

Oddo Altoviti
Agabito de' Ricci e
Bartolomeo Corsini

A ciascuno di per se', l quail restono a dare de'loro camarlingatichi

Die XI maii 1452

Supradicti Operarii in simul congregati etc., absente Bernardo domini Laurentii, eligerunt in provisorem dicte Opere

Guidonem Pieri de Vellutis, civem florentinum, pro un anno hodie inito, cum salario florenorum duorum pro quolibet mense, cum hoc quod per totum presentem mensem debeat satisfacere de florenis 500 per fideiussorem adprobandum per dictos Operarios.

Qui Guido constitutus in presentia mei notarii infrascripti, dictum officium acceptavit et promisit bene et diligenter exercere, et bona, res et iura dicte Opere salvare et custodire, et bonam reddere rationem, cum integra residuorum consignatione. Et propterea obligarit se eiusque heredes et bona omnia et singula, presentia et futura. Pro quo et eius precibus et mandato fideiussit et fideiussor exstitit

Andreas Michaelis de Vellutis pro florenis centum auri
Stoldus Leonardi de Frescobaldis pro florenis ducentis auri, et
Sander Donati Pieri de Vellutis pro florenis ducentis auri.

Et promiserunt quilibet eorum pro dicta quantitate et non ultra quod

f. 12r.

dictus Guido observabit omnia per eum supra promissa. Alias de suo observabunt usque in dictam quantitatem et pro dicto anno pro quo fuit electus ut supra et non ultra. Et propterea obligaverunt se ipsos eorumque heredes et bona omnia et singula presentia et futura. Rogantes etc.

Approbati fuerunt dicti fideiussores per dictos Operarios die 21 mensis Maii 1452, absente Bernardo domini Laurentii

Ego Pierus olim ser Antonii Laurentii, civis et notarius florentinus, de predictis rogatus me subscripsi

In Dei nomine amen. Hic est quaternus deliberationum Operariorum Opere Sancti Spiritus civitatis Florentie, scriptus per me Gualterium ser Laurentii de Ghiacceto notarium dictorum Operariorum pr tempore infrascripto et diebus et mensibus infrascriptis

Die XIII Marzii 1452[1453]

Eligerunt Guidonem Pieri de Vellutis in provisorem dicte Opere, cum salario declarando etc. pro tempore officii Operariorum

Ser Gualterium der Laurentii de Ghiacceto in notarium dicte Opere, cum salario declarando etc. pro tempore ut sopra

Die XV mensis Martii 1452[1453]

Nobiles viri

Bernardus domini Laurentii de Ridolfi

Petrus Gregorii del Benino

Laurentius Gini de Chapponibus et

Stoldus Bernardi Stoldo de Frescobaldis

Cives honorabiles florentini, una cum Laurentio Parigii de Corbinellis eorum collega absente, operarii Opere Sancti Spiritus et proquo promiserunt quod habebunt _____ ratificabunt presentem contractum _____ et ante omnia premissis quod non intendunt obligare se neque eorum heredes sed solummodo dictam Operam et eius bona, et omni modo etc., remiserunt in nobilem virum Nerium Gini de Chapponibus _____ cuius domus _____ domus que fuit Georgii Andree Nelli et hodie Nicoli seu Nicolai Iohannis magistri Niccoli et _____ dictis nominibus _____ eo modo et forma et tempus et _____ fuerit per dictam Nerium seu _____

Presentibus etc. Guidone Pieri de Vellutis, Chimenti Iohannis scarpellatore populi S. Laurentii de Florentia, Martino Zenobii Andree scarpellatore populi S. Laurentii extra mura

f. 12v.

Die XVIII mensis aprilis 1453

Suprascripti operarii omnes congregati ratificaverunt laudum latum per Nerium Gini Chapponibus, arbitrum electum inter partes de quibus in precedenti commissione fit mentio, videlicet die VII aprilis 1453.

Ac etiam constituerunt syndicum Guidonem Pieri de Vellutis ad notificandum et ratificandum dictum laudum.

Item deliberaverunt quod possint mictere ad speculum omnes camerarios qui defecerunt seu deficient in solutiones per eos debitas et debandas dicte opere, prout assererit dictus Guido.

Presentibus testibus suprascripti in precedenti facie positus.

Die decimo mensis aughusti 1455

Operarii suprascripti, absente Pietro Ghor del Benino, elegerunt eorum et dicte opere camerarium

Iohannem Pauli de Oricellaris et socios campsores, pro toto tempore eorum offitii, absque aliquo salario

Item consignaverunt Stoldo Leonardi de Frescohobaldis seu nominando ab eo _____ usque in duo lodia, pro chappellis novis in dicto hedifitio faciendis, prout designabit dictus Stoldo. Et pro una quoque debeat solvere florenos quingentos pro qualibet, de quibus quantitibus solvat et solvere debeat ad presens florenos centum pro qualibet, compensando in dicta solutione quantitates quas dictus Stoldus tenetur habere et recipere a dicta Opera et de quibus est creditor.

Ac etiam postea quolibet anno usque ad integram solutionem, solvere teneatur quolibet anno pro qualibet florenos quinquaginta auri, incipiendo primo anno _____ usque ad integram _____

Die XXVIII dicti mensis Augusti

Operarii suprascripti, absente suprascripto Piero, constituerunt eorum syndacum Guidum Pieri de Vellutis ad permutandum et omnes condiciones ponendum quascumque et quibuscumque quantitibus florenorum quorumcumque Montium Comunis Florentie dicte Opere que pertinent ad presens seu in futurum, cum pagis et sine, et ad renuntiandum omnibus conditionibus etc.

f. 13r.

In Dei nomine amen. Anno Domini nostri Ihesu Christi ab incarnatione eiusdem MCCCCLVII, die VI mensis Maii.

Frates, capitulum et conventus Sancti Spiritus, in mnumero sufficienti congregati, elegerunt in Operarios opere novi hedifizi Sancti Spiritus, pro tribus annis proxime fututri, nobiles viros

Lucham Bonaccursi de Pittis
Iohannem Stefani de Corsinis
Bernardum Tommasi Antinori
Iohannozum Betti de Biliottis
Iohannem Luce Greggori _____ Ubertini

(adjacent to list) cum balia, modis et formis in aliis electionibus factis per eos, contentis

die XXVIII Maii [1457]

Operarii suprascripti, absente suprascripto Lucha, elegerunt in camerarium dicte Opere:

Iohannem Pauli de Oricellaris et socios, pro suprascripto tempore;

Guiduccium Pieri de Vellutis in provisorem dicte Opere, cum salario consueto et pro dicte tempore;
Ser Gaulterium ser Laurentii de Ghiacceto in notarium dicte Opere et pro dicto tempore
Die III Aprilis 1459

Operarii suprascripti, insimul omnes congregati in locho eorum residentie deliberaverunt quod in chappella principali dicti hedifizii, ex latere dextro, mictatur arma comunis, videlicet illa que sunt obligati Operarii Sancte Reparate circha picturam et alia ad perficiendum

Item concexerunt Luce Bonaccursi de Pittis unam chappellam in dicto hedifizio, videlicet illam que est prope suprascriptum chappellam comunis ex latere sinistro, et quod ibidem mictatur arma dicti Luce.

Item concexerunt Iohannozo Betti de Biliottis unam chappellam in dicto hedifizio, loco eius chappelle quam habet in ecclesia Snacti Spiritus, videlicet la chappella di testa, prope illam concessam suprascripto Luce ex latere sinistro, cum habere quod _____ id quod alias deliberabitur , et quod mictatur ius arma.

f. 13v.

Die III Aprilis 1459

Operarii suprascripti concexerunt Iohanni Luce Greghorii Felti[Ubertini] una chappellam in dicto hedifizio ad sui electionem accipiendo de concessi pro pretio alias deliberando, et quod mictatur eius arma.

Dicte die

Item concexerunt Lutozo Iacobi Nasi et nepotibus unam chappellam in dicto hedifizio, prope chappellam concessam Tanai Franciscii de Nerlis pro florenis quingentis, solvendo ad presens florenos quinquaginta et subsequenter postea quolibet anno florenos quinquaginta usque ad integram solutionem. Cum hoc quod ratificent per totum presentem mensem et ibidem ponatur eorum arma.

Item Gino Neri Gini de Chapponibus unam chappellam ad sui beneplacitum, sed non de concessis, solvendo ad presens florenos centum et subsequenter omni anno postea florenos centum usque ad integram solutionem, ratificando per totum presentem mensem; et ibidem ponatur arma ipsius.

Item Tanay Francisci de Nerlis chappellam alias eidem concessam, videlicet [blank], de qua solvit usque nunc florenos CCCL, et per totam diem quintam octobris proxime futuri solvat florenos centum, et inde ad unam annum florenos quinquaginta, ratifichandum per totum presentem mensem; et ibidem ponatur eius arma.

Die XIII aprilis ratificavit dictum stantiammentum

Item conduxerunt in hedificatione dicti hedificii Antonium Manetti legnaiuolum, cum salario librarum otto pro mense pro toto tempore sui offitii, et quod salarium intelligatur incepisse die primo mensis novembris proxime preteriti.

Item conduxerunt [blank] in magistrum tettorum Sancti Spiritus pro toto dicto tempore, cum salario declarando per Bernardum de Antinoris.

f. 14r.

Dicta die III aprilis [1459]

Operariis suprascripti viso quod societates _____ non possunt congregari, incorporaverunt omnia bona societatum [blank]

Die V aprilis predicti presentis

Guidone Pieri de Vellutis et
Ser Batista der Francisci Guardi, notarius florentinus
(adjacent: in Arte Kallismale)

Lutozus Iacobi suprascriptus pro dimidia dicte quantitatis _____ et cappella ratificavit, et

locobus, Aughustinus et Batista

(adjacent: fraters et filii olim Iohannis Iacobi Lutozi, eorum nominibus propriis, vice et nomine Bonifazii et Iuliani, eorum fratrum, pro quibus de rato promiserunt etc., pro alia dimidia, ratificaverunt et quilibet eorum promisit etc., attendere etc., dictam concessionem chappelle et contenta in ipsa.

Die XXVIII Maii [1459]

Vitale Dattili de Montalcino, hebreus, habitator in populo Sancte Trinitatis de Florentia, eius proprio motu promisit mihi notario infrascripto, recipienti pro Opera et Operariis suprascriptis, quod magister Bonaventura magistri Elie, hebreus, fenerator in Montepolitiano, solvet pro partibus fiendis omni anno libras triginta solvendas quibuslibet III mensibus ratam durante tempore suorum capitulorum, videlicet in fenerando et non in exigendo, cum hoc quod quandocumque dictus magister Bonaventura ratificabit dictam compositionem, dictus Vitale sit liber a dicta promissione.

f. 14v.

Die III Augusti [1459]

Magister Bonaventura suprascripta, presentibus ser Francisco Pieri Mori et ser Gabbrielle Francisci Leonis.

Die III Aprilis 1459

Operarii suprascripti concexerunt Iohanni Luce Greghorii Felti Ubertini
[Cancelled entry]

die XIII Aughusti 1460

Operarii suprascripti omnes congregati deliberaverunt quod Iohannes Luce Gregorii pro chappella sibi concessa pro florenis quingentis solvat dictam quantitatem infrascripto modo, videlicet infra unum annum quando sibi placuerit, florenos quinquaginta et residuum [cancelled: ad sui libitum] omni anno florenos quinquaginta.

Item concexerunt

Bernardo et Antonio Tommasi de Antinori unam chappellam in dicto hedifizio de non concessis, illam quam sibi placuerit, pro florenis quingentis, videlicet hinc ad duos menses florenos quinquaginta, et postea moni anno florenos quinquaginta usque ad integram solutionem. Et quod ibidem possant signum ipsorum arme ad eorum libitum.

Item concexerunt Laurentio Larionis chappellam de Bardis pro florenis quingentis. Et quod eidem excomputentur denarius solutos per locobum Bernardi de Bardis, et ponatur arma sua et elevetur illa de Bardis prout sibi placuerit, solvendo per totum mensem settembris proxime futuri florenos quinquaginta et successive postea omni anno florenos quinquaginta.

Item quod non posit concedi aliqua chappella alicui nisi per quinque fabas nigras.

Item quod de cetero, salvis suprascriptis, non posit poni arma alicuius in aliqua chappella nisi per V fabas nigras.

Item in casuquo Mariottus Marci Palla solverit camerario Opere florenos quingentos auri per totum mensem settembris proxime futuri, intelligatur sibi concessa una chappella in dicto hedifizio, prout deliberabitur per Bernardum de Antinoris et Iohannoizium de Biliottis

Item quod omnibus restantibus solve pro chappellis concessis, quorum termini sint elapxi, notificetur quod solvant infra otto dies, alias elapxo termino intelligantur remoti et eleventur arme et alias gentibus posint concedi.

f. 15r.

Die primo octobris 1460

Laurentius Larionis ratificavit.

Operarii suprascripti concexerunt Laurentio Larionis cappellam sitam penes chappellam cum signo Comunis Florentie, pro florenis trecentis quinquaginta, solvendo ad presens florenos quinquaginta et postea quolibet anno florenos quinquaginta, et quod ibidem ponatur arma ad sui libitum.

Die VIII decembris [1460]

Laurentius suprascriptus ratificabit

Die tertia Martii [1460(1461)]

Operarii suprascripti deliberaverunt quod oporteret quod fiat provisio per consilia quod per tempus quinque annorum accatastati in quarterio Sancti Spiritus solvant omni anno quintam partem unius catasti, que quantitas perveniat ad camerarium dicte Opere.

Item elegerunt Loysium [blank] de Biliottis in provisorem dicte Opere, firmo manente Guidone de Vellutis, ad hoc ut dictus Loysius vacet pro necessariis dicte Opere et maxime super reinveniendum apotecias pro quibus debet fieri impositam pro tempore eorum offitii, cum salario florenorum trium pro mense, ad rationem librarum quatuor pro floreno.

Item deputaverunt Bernardum Tommasi Antinori et Iohannem Luce Gregorii ad praticandum et in saldo ponendum pro cappella concessa domino Ianno de Manettis.

Item deputaverunt suprascripti ad faciendum quod in veniantur apotece super quibus debet poni impositam secundum reformationem editam de mense februarii proxime preteriti.

Item elegerunt Iulianum Sandrini in caputmagistrum dicte Opere pro tempore eorum offitii, cum salario declarando per Bernardum Antinori et Iohannozum de Biliotti, faciendo ea que facit [blank] de Suchiellis in Opera Sancte Reparate.

f. 15v.

Ditta die III februarii 1460 [1461]

Operarii suprascripti elegerunt Iohannem Dominici, alias Grasso, in caputmagistrum in dicta Opera secundum quod declarabitur per infrascriptos Bernardum et Iohannozzum pro parte offitii

Item elegerunt Paulum Iohannis magistrum super attationem tetorum conventus Sancti Spiritus pro parte eorum offitii, cum salario librarum XLVIII parvorum.

Die XVIII octobris 1461

Bonaccursus Luce de Pittis, unus ex Operariis ditte Opere, de presenti iturus orator ad regem Franchorum, loco sin posuit ipso existenti oratore et donec redet:

Spectabilem virum Luchiam suprascriptum, secundum _____ electionem ipsorum

Item quod per provisorem vel alium numptium vel magistrum murorum aut chompentores vel alias personas non possint deinceps numerare nec dare aliquid vel aliquas res dicte Opere nisi fuerit deliberatum per dictos Operarios aut duas partes ipsorum.

Nec _____ aliquod danarii vel calcem vela liquid aliud, nisi primo facta solutione eius quod solverunt

Die VIII novembris 1461

Operarii suprascripti omnes simul deliberaverunt quod cuicumque fuit assignata aliqua cappella in dicto hedifizio non solverit per totum mensem decembris proxime futuri omne id quod restat solvere, removeantur arma elapso dicto mense decembris. Et sic provisor dicti offitii teneatur et debeat facere.

Ac etiam sic successive quicumque non solveret debito tempore id quod tenebuntur solvere, arma removeantur.

Item deliberaverunt omnes ministri dicte Opere qui non erunt reconolucti per totum mensem decembris proxime futuri a dictis Operariis, intelligantur remoti.

Item quod Loysius domini Laurentii de Ridolfi et Iulianus Aughustini Chomi, duo ex dictis Operariis, possint se componere cum quibuscumque de apotecis. Et si casus acciderit quod unus ipsorum non esset in civitate, alius cum uno ex alias Operariis possit _____ se componere

7.) ASF, CRS. 122, 67

f. 83r.

Ricordo come adi XI di maggio 1457 ragunati tutti I frati a suono di cappanella il capitolo per comandamento del Reverendo priore maestro Santi di Maceratta fu proposta la electione degli operai della nostra chiesa di Santo Spirito et di tutti quegli che furono presenti all'etata electione furono eletti per anni 3 (prossimi) futuri e venerabili huomini cioe

Luca di Bonachorso Pitti
Giovanni di Stefano Corsini
Bernardo Antinori
Giovanni di Luca di Ghregoro
Gianozzo Biliotti

Con quella autorita et potesta che si costuma dare a simili operai

8.) ASF, CRS, 122, 67

85r.- (1458) Stoldo di Lionardo Frescobaldi spontaneamente et per sua cortesia pagho lire dugento per rifactura di detta campana et cosi el convento gliene sommamente obbligato al quale dio pienamente _____ et questa vita et nellaltia

9.) ASF, CRS, 122, 37 – “Libro degli Obblighi”

f. 2r.- Nota che tutti li messi quali si devono leggere o cantare non c'essendo asseganta altare et luogo particolare s'intendo di sotisfare celebrando all'altar grande perche essendoci posti obblighi di cappelle della chiesa vecchia se quali loro non si trovano nella nuova s'adempiscono celebrando delle mese al detto altare maggiore.

f. 3v.- Altare della Maddalena (Del Riccio)

f. 4r.- Altare Privilegiato di S. Niccola da Tolentino
Niccolaio Biechielli

f. 5r. - Altare dei Cini al lato [sagrestia]

Idem.- Altare dei Cambi

f. 6r.- Altare dei Petrini

f. 6v. - Altare della Pala

Siamo obbligati dirci ogni mattina messa e per questo Marco di Mariotto della Palla ci lasco fiorini dugento quale hebbi il conto cioè lire 1176
La quale cappella essendo spento il casato, è rimasta alli buoni huomini di S. Martino

Fol. 7r. - Altare di S. Agostino

Fol. 8 r.- Altare di Capponi dell' Altopascio o di S. Monica

Fol. 9r.- Altare della Beata Vergine del Soccorso

Pitero e Donato Velluti

Fol. 10r.- Altare del crocifisso
Giovanni di Guido de Rossi

Fol. 10v.- Altare di S. Martino dei Nerli

Fol. 11r.- Altare dei Nasi

f. 12r.- Altare della Visitazione dei Capponi

f. 13r.- Altare dei Capponi sul canto
- Mico d'Uguccione Capponi

f. 14r.- Altare dei Ridolfi

f. 15v.- Altare dei Vettori

f. 16r.- Altare dei Biliotti

f. 16v.- Altare dei Pitti
"Per lascito di messer Luca Pitti che ci fussino dati 10 scudi l'anno"

f. 17v.- Altare dei Cini

f. 18r.- Altare dei Bardi

f. 19r.- Altare della Nonziata

Letta del Paniccia Frescobaldi

f. 19v.- Altare della Capannuccia
Frescobaldi

f. 20r.- Altare degli Ubertini
eredi di Giovanni di Luca Ubertini

f. 20v.- Altare dei Bini

f. 21r.- Altare di San Tommaso
Tommaso di Piero Corbinelli
“Altri obblighi ci sono ma perchè il conto non è sodisfatto non eseguisciono” +

f. 21v.- Altare del Santissimo Sacramento di Matteo Corbinelli

f. 22v.- Altare di Santa Maria Maddalena
“come detto di sopra”
Corbinelli

f. 23r.- Altare di San Bartolomeo dei Corbinelli

f. 23v.- Altare di S. Lorenzo de' Segni

f. 24r.- Altare degli'Antinori sul canto
“Canto del Chiasso de' Preti”

f. 25r.- Altare de' Cavalcanti

f. 25v.- Altare dei Dei
Rinieri Dei

f. 26v.- Altare dei Segni
Giovanni Maria d'Alessio Segni

f. 27v.- Altare di San Gregorio degli Antinori
Raffaello Antinori

f. 28r.- Altare di San Girolamo de' Frescobaldi
Stoldo di Niccolò Frescobaldi

“Si deve dire di più ogni settimana tre messe perchè il convento hebbe una casa sul canto di via Maggio a canto all casa di Messer Carlo Pitti la quale casa e per indivisa con lo spedale degli Incurabili”

(1445- Ser Gualtiere di Tommaso da Diacceto)- Notaio

f. 29r.- Altare detto il Riccio Nuovo

f. 29v.- Altare dei Bettoni (?)

f. 31r.- Altare di San Friano in sagrestia e di Barbadori

“per lasciato di Gherardo di Bartolomeo Barbadori e della Compagnia d’Orto San Michele”

f. 32r.- Altare dei Corsini in convento nel secondo chiostro
La cappella

10.) ASF, CRS, 122, 67

103r.- Richordo chome adì 25 d’ottobre 1468 ragunati congregati tutti e padri del convento che sa_____ ragunati alla determinatione del chonvento _____ luogo usato di chomandamento e volonta del Reverendo priori_____ Santi per la quale fu chiarito a dei frati chome egli vera tempo di provvedere degli operai della nuova opera della chiesa perche in chalende marzo 1468 finiva l’ufficio degli operai vecchi. E per tanto furono eletti per nuovi operai e nobili e spettabili cittadini

Messer Antonio di Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi
Stoldo di Lionardo Frescobaldi
Lorenzo di Parigi Corbinelli
Jacopo di Piero Guicciardini
Piero di Lorenzo Nasi

E quali devono chomitare loro ufficio in chalende di marzo e chon quella potesta e balia che anno usato egli altri

11.) ASF, CRS, 122, 67

f. 108v.

Anchora in detta congregatione fu proposto pel detto priore a detti padri chome per insino nella 1470 adì 25 di giugno fu determinato che a Francesco di Ghuido Manelli fusse concesso tanto di quello orto che tiengono la rede di Francesco Brandi dietro a’difitti della nuova chiesa tanto quanto tiene la sua chasa, non pregiudichando er questo l’autorità concessa pel chonvento a nostri operai della nuova. E ora novamente pel sopradetto priore fu proposto pel sopradetto a sopradetti padri che chonsiderando che el detto Francesco ha bonificato el chonvento in buona quantità di danari per la vendita fece al chonvento di terreni posti presso a Pontormo chome manifesto a tutto chonvento e a’ ricevuto sese e graveza. El detto Francesco più volte a’ dimandato al chonvento gli sia choncesso a largito quella particella d’orto chome detto di sopra chon quella giudizione quant a’ el chonvento a potere quello dare e concedere promettendo luj il fare chontenti gli operai. Per la quale chosa sopradetti padri e frati del chonvento congregati il detta congregatione choll’autorità che meglio fare, possono dettono et concessono e danno largiscono, et choncedono al detto Francesco di Ghuido Manelli e a sue rede un pezo d’orto detto di sopra dietro alle 4 chapelle in fra le chapelle e la chasa di detto Francesco tanto quanto tienela chasa di detto Francesco, con questo: che el detto Francesco non possa fare muro ne achostarsi apresso alle mura di detta chiesa per spatio di braccia tre, nè alcuno edificio fare. E’l detto Francesco promette di finire el chonvento d’ogni e ciascuna chosa restassi

avere dal chonvento di quelli terreni già fa più tempo a noi venduti posti nel chomune di Pontormo et fare la carta publica che vaglia e tenga di ragione.

12.) CRS 122, 76

f. 336r.

“Copia del Testamento di Stoldo Frescobaldi”

Al nome di Dio amen. Nel anno del signore alla sua incarnatione 1482. In [di stione] XV adì 6 di luglio [Agosto] fatto in Firenze nel popolo di San Jacopo Sopra Arno et in casa della habitatione dello sofrascritto testator (punti) testimoni a tutte le infrascritte cose chiamati da detto testator cioè

Frate Vangelista di Filippo da Cortona
Frate Illuminato di Guasparri di Firenze del Ordine della Observatia di San Francesco
Messer Giovanni di Lazaro Fiorini cittadino e notaio fiorentino et
Giovanni di nicolo da Pomino legnaiuolo popolo di San Giorgio di Firenze et
Lorenzo di Francesco Cambioni popolo di Santa Felicità e
Piero di Antonio Signorini popolo di Santa Lucia d'Ognissanti et
Giovanni di Bartolo d'Antonio orbellaio popoli di San Jacopo in campo corbolino

Lascio sia che non e cosa alcuna più cosa alcuna più certa della morte ne cosa alcuna più incerta l'hora di quella. Onde el savio et nobile _____ Stoldo di Lionardo Frescobaldi cittadino et mercatale Fiorentino sano della mente et del vedere benché alquanto infermo al corpo volendo disporre e fatti suoi _____ la voluta sua et dei suoi beni _____ a disposizione per questo _____ nucupatiero resto che si dice senza scritti dispose et ordino in questo _____ come segue cioè

In prima raccomandando l'anima sua al onnipotente I Dio e alla sua gloriosa madre Vergine Maria e atutta la celestial corte humilmente et _____

La sepoltura del corpo suo _____ accadra passar di questa vita _____ et di punto nella chiesa di Santoa Spirito di Firenze nella cappella di detto testatore dove parra alli infrascritti suoi heredi nel quale mortorio voles che si spenda quello et quanto parra a infrascritti suoi heredi non passando in _____ alcuno quello che e permessa ne facendo alcuna cosa a (proposta)

Anchora lascio al opera delle mura della città di Firenze una lire

Anchora al opera di Santa Maria del Fiore e alla sagrestia lira dua

Anchora per l'amor di Dio et accio che I Dio habbi mia del anima sua lascio alla chiesa di Santo Spirito per detto et per satisfatione del incarico et peso lasciato el fatto a detta chiesa per Giovanni suo fratello nel suo resto (?) overo altrimenti una bottega a uso becchaio con sue appartenetie posta in Firenze in detto popolo di San Jacopo longo Arno in sul canto che da 1°, ii, iii, a 4 beni di detto

testatore infra e detti confini et detto legato _____ et sia in luogo et per intera satisfatione di detta lascio fatto per decto Giovanni a detta chiesa con conditione _____ no che se l'infrasccti heredi di detto testatore tutti alcuno di loro con modo o per qualche rispetto possino et a loro sia _____ dare altri beni immobili e qual _____ a detti frati et chiesa et da l'hora come da hora vale lascio di detta botteggha et salva la prorogativa del grado che perviene cioè che tale elettione appartenga a farsi a chi fassi primo et più _____ pinguo et apresso ingrado a detto testatore.

Anchora per l'amor di Dio lascio come di sopra et volse che per li infrascritti eredi et chi restassi di loro si finischino le tavole dipinte nelle cappelle nuove poste in detta chiesa di Santo Spirito et disegnate sotto nome di detto testatore et anchora le predelle e tavole innanzi allo altare in luogo di paliotto et come disegno detto testatore et anchora con le finestre di vetro.

In tutti li altri suoi beni _____ et futuri suoi heredi _____ fece et _____ volse li per frati Lionardo Gerardo e Francesco per _____ parte delle quattro parte di tutta detta sua heredità e per l'altra quarta parte detto Andrea suo nipote.

13.) ASF, CRS, 122, 67

f. 138r.

Anno MCCCCXXXV die XIII decembris

Si nota per manifesto a ciascuno come ragunati e padri reverendi maestri e gli altri padri e frati del convento di Santo Spirito di Firenze dell'ordine de frati heremitni di Sant'Agostino per commandamento del Reverendo Padre Magistro Monsignore Michele da Empoli priore del sopradetto convento a suono di campanella come e usanza di ragunare detto capitolo furano posto da sopradetto reverendo priore a detti reverendi maestri i padri come essendo ricascato al convento el dare del luogho del santissimo corpo di cristo per aspetto dell'arsione della chiesa vecchia e adimandati e detti reverendi maestri e padri se alcuno vi ufissi alchuna nobile casa commune consenso o per scriptura fusse dato. Rispose ciascheduno nel suo luogho cio di detta arsione in qua non esser stato publicamente di comune consenso dato per chi nella vecchia chiesa laveva avendo ceduto per non ripigliando e essendo dalla generosa chasa de Corbinegli al adomandato adimando el sopradetto reverendo priore ciascheduno privatamente se era contento che detto sactissimo sacramento del corpo di cristo si concedessi donassi deliberamente si largissi alla detta generosa e nobile casa de Corbinegli et così ciascheduno privatamente a voce viva rispose dessi per così fu nel sopradetto di concesso el detto sacramento a detta chasa con questo che detta casa tenga detto sacramento honorificamente sempre con lume aceso dinanzi et per la festa del corpo di Cristo in mandino le fiacole e così el giovedì santo e così con quelli ornamenti che meritamente detto sacramento merita.

Appendix B: Published Documentation

1.) ASF, *Carte Stroziane II*, 16, “Libro di Ricordanze di Francesco di Tommaso Giovanni”

f. 13v.

Ricordo che adì_____ aprile 1436 gli uomini del quartiere di Santo Spirito e i frati di detto convento, ragunatisi più volte insieme sopra l'ordinarem che si principassi a dare opera all'edificio dello innovare e magnificare detta chiesa, feciono VI operai al chui governo vollero che si intendessi seguire l'edificio che s'a' a fare di detta chiesa. Et perchè evessino maggiore autorità vollero ch'e 6 della Mercatantia per loro parte gl'aprovassano. I sei sono Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi, Giovanni di Tommaso Corbinelli, Sando di Giovanni Biliotti, Neri di Gino Capponi, Francesco di Nicholo del Benino, et io Francesco di Tommaso Giovanni. A detti operai el 6 della Mercatantia per loro medesimi agiunsono di poi 3, cioè: Giovanni di Lutozo Nasi...

Ragunamoci più volte e examinata la facultà del denaio che da ritenere essere a tanto edificio insufficientissimo, deliberamo lasciare per hora starsi.

Oltre alla cagione dirimpetto lasciamo stare aspettando che oltre all'assegnamento che hebbiamo quando io fui de signori, Neri di Gino, che s'aspettava gonfaloniere, facessi qualche aggiunta.

Appendix C: List of Opere 1436-1481

April 21, 1436 – ASF, *Mercanzia*, 271, 39r.

Franciscum Nicolai del Benino
Franciscum Tommasi Johannis
Dominum Laurentium Antonii Ridolfi
Johannem Tommasi Corbinelli
Sandrum Johannis Biliotti
Nerum Gini de Capponibus
Johannem Jacobi Lutozzi Nasi
Gherardum domini Fillipi de Corsinis et
Giannozzum Bernardi Manetti

December 17, 1438 – ASF, *Mercanzia*, 272, 127r.

Laurentium Gini de Capponibus
Pietrum Gregorii del Benino
Thomasium Bartholomei de Corbinellis
Giannoizium Bernard de Manettis
Stoldum Leonardi de Frescobaldis

April 27, 1445 [1446]- (die xxvii februari) - ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 9r.

Tommasio Bartolomei de Corbinellis
Laurentio Gini de Capponibus
Pietro Gregorii del Benino
Bernardo domini Laurentii de Ridolfis et
Stoldo Leonardi de Frescobaldis

May 20, 1447 (die xxmensis Maii 1447) - ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 10v.

Tomaso di Bartolomeo Corbinelli
Pietro di Ghorò del Benino
Bernardo di messer Lorenzo Ridolfi
Stoldo di Lionardo Frescobaldi

*absente Lorenzo di Gino Chapponi ("loro compagno")

July 20, 1450 (adì 20 di luglio 1450) - ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 11v.

Lorenzo di Gino Capponi
Pietro di Ghirigoro del Benino
Bernardo di messer Lorenzo Ridolfi e
Stoldo Frescobaldi

*absente Tomaso Corbinelli

March 15, 1452 [1453] - ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 12r.

Bernardo domini Laurentii de Ridolfi
Petrus Gregori del Benino
Laurentius Gini de Chapponibus et
Stoldus Bernardi Stoldi de Frescobaldi

*absente Laurentio Parigii de Corbinellis

March 4, 1454 - ASF, CRS, 122, 67, 7v.

Piero Vettori

May 6, 1457 - ASF, *Carte Stroziane*, II, 93, 13r.

Lucham Bonaccursi de Pittis
Iohannem Stefani de Corsinis
Bernardum Tommasi Antinori
Iohannozum Betti de Biliottis
Iohannem Luce Greghorii Ubertini

May 11, 1457 – ASF, CRS, 122, 67, 83r.

Ricordo come adì XI di maggio 1457 ragunati tutti I frati a suono di cappanella il capitolo per comandamento del Reverendo priore maestro Santi di Maceratta fu proposta la electione degli operai della nostra chiesa di Santo Spirito et di tutti quegli che furono presenti all'etata electione furono eletti per anni 3 (prossimi) futuri e venerabili huomini cioe

Luca di Bonachorso Pitti
Giovanni di Stefano Corsini
Bernardo Antinori
Giovanni di Lucha di Ghregoro Ubertini
Gianozzo Biliotti

Con quella autorita et potesta che si costuma dare a simili operai

October 25, 1468 – ASF, CRS, 122, 67, 103r.

Richordo chome adì 25 d'ottobre 1468 ragunati congregati tutti e padri del questo _____ raunati alla determinatione del chonvento _____ luogo usato di comandamento e volonta del reverendo priore Santi per la quale fu chiarito a dei frati chome egli vera tempo di prevedere degli operai della nuova opera della chiesa perche in chalde marzo 1468 finiva l'ufficio degli operai vecchi. E per tanto furono eletti per nuovi operai e nobili e spettabili cittadini

Messer Antonio di Mess. Lorenzo Ridolfi
Stoldo di Lionardo Frescobaldi

Lorenzo di Parigi Corbinelli
Jacopo di Piero Guicciardini
Piero di Lorenzo Nasi

E quali devono comitare loro ufficio in che ____ di marzo che quello potestà e balia che anno usata egli altri

January 23, 1472 – ASF, CRS, 122, 67, 112v.

Ricordo chomo adì 23 gennaio 1472...tutti e padri choncordono che fussero conformati

Messer di Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi
Stoldo di Lionardo Frescobaldi
Bernardo di Thomaso Corbinelli
Piero di Lutozo Nasi
Jacopo di Piero Guicciardini
Francesco di Domenico Sini

1477 – ASF, CRS, 122, 128, folio not indicated, 1st page

*page damaged. Names in brackets deduced from earlier and later

Opere

MCCCCLXXVII [TOP OF PAGE]

Messer Antonio di Messer [Lorenzo Ridolfi]
Stoldo di Lionar[do Frescobaldi]
Bernard di To[maso Corbinelli]
Piero di Lutozzo [Nasi]
Jachopo di Pier[o Guicciardini]
Rugieri di Michele [Corbinelli]

1481(?) - ASF, CRS, 122, 67, 134v.

“.... Come essendo passata da questa corta vita la buona memoria di Bernardo Corbinelli operaio nella nostra chiesa _____ l'antica consuetudine e il numero si sei operai si mantenessi tutto el cagito di buona Concordia feciono et elessono in luogo de deceso Bernardo el prudente huomo Ruggieri di Nicholo Corbinegli con quella balia cauto vita consueta di dare agli altri l rogato Mess. Francesco Sini

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

ASF, CRS, 122, 127		Payments																																			
Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1480[1481] (f. 227v.)			Feb. 5, 1480 [1481] (f. 227v.)			March 5, 1480 [1481] (f. 227v.)			April 5, 1481 (f. 231v.)			May 5, 1481 (f. 231v.)			No Payment Record for June 1481			July 5, 1481 (f. 236v.)			Aug. 5, 1481 (f. 236v.)			Sept. 5, 1481 (f. 236v.)			Oct. 5, 1481 (f. 236v.)			No Payment Record for November 1481			No Payment Record for December 1481		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Giovanni di Mariano	Capomaestro	12	0	0	10	0	0	15	0	0	15	0	0	15	0	0				16	0	0	15	0	0	15	0	0	15	0	0						
Francesco del Corno	Maestro	1	5	0	1	5	0															1	16	0													
Matteo di Tofano	Fornaciaio	9	15	0	16	5	0	45	1	6	48	18	0	107	8	0						23	0	0													
Mariotto di Papi	Scarpellatore	8	0	0	7	0	0	6	0	0	9	16	4	2	0	0																					
Salvi d'Andrea	Capomaestro dello Scarpello	11	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	13	0	0				12	0	0	9	0	0	11	0	0	12	0	0						
Francesco di Giovanni	Scarpellatore	7	10	0	8	0	0	5	5	0	5	0	4							6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	7	0	0						
Matteo di Giovanni	Scarpellatore	5	10	0							10	4	0																								
Matteo di Vanni	Scarpellatore	8	0	0	8	0	0	5	0	0	2	6	0									6	18	4				7	17	6							
Domenico di Goro	Scarpellatore	6	5	4																		6	11	0													
Giovanni del Rico	Scarpellatore							0	9	0												7	0	0	14	6	0										
Mariotto di Jacopo	Scarpellatore							2	6	0	3	17	8																								
Jacopo del Conte	Scarpellatore							11	10	0	3	13	0																								
Giovanni di Domenico	Scarpellatore	8	0	0	7	0	0	3	4	8	6	9	0																								
Fruosmo di Berto	Renaiuolo	1	13	0	2	15	0	6	12	0	6	12	0	6	12	0																					
Jacopo di Giovanni	Manovale				1	18	0	1	9	0										11	10	0	9	10	0												
Romolo di Antonio	Manovale				1	4	8	1	9	0															5	18	0										
Luca di Francesco	Manovale	3	10	0	3	10	0																														
Nicola di Luca	Manovale	6	0	0	5	0	0	4	0	0	4	3	0									6	3	0	10	10	0										
Barnaba di Cino	Manovale	3	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	0												4	0	0	5	18	0										

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1480[1481] (f. 227v.)			Feb. 5, 1480 [1481] (f. 227v.)			March 5, 1480 [1481] (f. 227v.)			April 5, 1481 (f. 231v.)			May 5, 1481 (f. 231v.)			No Payment Record for June 1481			July 5, 1481 (f. 236v.)			Aug. 5, 1481 (f. 236v.)			Sept. 5, 1481 (f. 236v.)			Oct. 5, 1481 (f. 236v.)			No Payment Record for November 1481			No Payment Record for December 1481		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Santi di Francesco Cambio	Charrettaio	5	0	0										6	12	0																					
Simone del Caprino	Cavaiuolo	75	13	0	44	10	0							40	1	0																					
Michele di Cori	Charrettaio	1	10	0																																	
Vazza di Luca Otteringo	N/I	16	2	0																																	
Alexandro del Rico	Scarpellatore													6	0	0																					
Ulivieri di Giovanni	Manovale										0	16	4																								
Antonio Sachi	Scarpellatore																											7	17	6							
Guido di Papi di Guido	Fornaciaio																											6	10	0							
Zanobi di Salustro	Funaiuolo																			29 23	2 17	0 0															
Lazaro di Bartolo	Manovale																					6	0	0	10	10	0										
Total payments in gross sums		185	93	4	127	67	8	116	65	14	121	114	20	195	33	0				97	29	0	98	58	4	76	62	0	54	44	12						
Total number of workers and suppliers		18			15			15			13			8						5			12			8			6								

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

ASF, CRS, 122, 127

ASF, CRS, 122, 127				Payments																																			
Name	Profession	Jan. 1471 [1472]			Feb. 1472 [1472]			March 1472			April 1472			May 1472			June 5, 1472 (f. 18r.)			July 5, 1472 (f. 18r.)			Aug. 5, 1472 (f. 18r.)			Sept. 5, 1472 (f.20v.)			Oct. 5, 1472 (f. 20v.)			Nov. 5, 1472 (f.33v.)			Dec. 5, 1472 (f.33v.)				
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.					
Francesco di Giovanni	Scarpellatore															3	12	0							5	11	0												
Luca di Pippo	Manovale															2	18	0	1	5	0											5	11	0					
Toto di Maso	Fornaciaio																		55	0	0				38	0	0						10	0	0				
Giovanni di Cristofano	N/I																		16	13																			
[---] Di Feo	Maestro dei Tetti																					14	0	0															
Tommaso di Chimenti	Scarpellatore															6	0	0	6	0	0	5	11	0	11	2	0					15	0	0					
Talento di Giovanni d'Alamanno	Cavaiuolo																					44	0	0				111	0	0									
Piero di Simone Massini	Renaiuolo															7	10	0	8	8	0	3	12	0	9	0	0	6 22	15	0	5 46	9 17	6 6	6 14	13 0	6 0			
Giovanni di Mariano	Maestro															24	15	0	28	12	0	21	9	0	25	6	0	28	12	0	25	6	0	24	4	0			
Matteo di Tofano	Fornaciaio																					19	10	0	59	11	0	36	11	0	89	15	0	71	15	0			
Salvi d'Andrea	Scarpellatore																					11	2	0	11	2	0						22	0	0				
Francesco di Papi	Charrettaio																					11	2	0	4	8	0				20	4	0						
Francesco di Perio Baccegli	Cavaiuolo															12	0	0																					
Vanni del Richo	Scarpellatore																								8	0	0						5	11	0				
Mariotto di Jacopo	Scarpellatore																								5	11	0						5	11	0				
Giovanni di Domenico da Gaiuole	Scarpellatore																								2	14	0	51	12	0				5	11	0			
Francesco del Corno	Maestro																								11	2	0												
Luca di Pippo	Manovale																								5	11	0												

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 1471 [1472]			Feb. 1472 [1472]			March 1472			April 1472			May 1472			June 5, 1472 (f. 18r.)			July 5, 1472 (f. 18r.)			Aug. 5, 1472 (f. 18r.)			Sept. 5, 1472 (f.20v.)			Oct. 5, 1472 (f. 20v.)			Nov. 5, 1472 (f.33v.)			Dec. 5, 1472 (f.33v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Giovanni d'Antonio da Maiano	Manovale																						5	11	0												
Michele di Nanni Chori	Cavaiuolo																						57	14	0					22	4	0					
Cristofano di Lorenzo	Charrettaio																						3	6	0	19	16	0									
Bartolomeo di Pagholoda Montebuoni	Cavaiuolo																										40	12	0								
Lorenzo di Giovanni	Fondatore																										16	2	8								
Maso di Meo	Fornaciaio																										49	13	3					22	9	6	
Domenicho di Nanni	Manovale																													6	2	0					
Andrea di Giovanni di Sandrino	Fondatore																													34	7	6	10	3	8		
Jaopo del Chonte	Scarpellatore																																3	10	0		
Giovanni di Piero Baccegli	Cavaiuolo																																12	0	0		
Maestro Piero Lombardo	Fornaciaio																																7	1	0		
Total payments in gross sums																54	55	0	114	38	0	128	46	0	258	109	0	350	93	11	196	66	18	236	99	20	
Total number of workers and suppliers																	6			6			8			16			8			7			15		

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

ASF, CRS, 122, 127		Payments																																				
Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1472 [1473] (f.35.v.)			Feb. 5, 1472 [1473] (f.39v.)			March 5, 1472 [1473] (f.40v.)			April 5, 1473 (f.40v.)			May 5, 1473 (f.43v.)			June 5, 1473 (f.43v.)			July 5, 1473 (f.55v.)			Aug. 5, 1473 (f.55v.)			Sept. 5, 1473 (f.59v.)			Oct. 5, 1473 (f.59v.)			Nov. 5, 1473 (f.62v.)			Dec. 5, 1473 (f.62v.)			
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.				
Giovanni di Marianno	Maestro	25	6	0	23	2	0	27	10	0	24	10	0	22	11	0	20	18	0	22	0	0	25	6	0	25	6	0	24	15	0	23	9	4	23	2	0	
Antonio di Pippo	Manovale				2	0	0	2	10	0																												
Michele di Nanni Chori	Charrettaio	5	0	0	42	18	0	53	4	0	34	4	0	9	18	0							7	0	0													
Francesco di Papi	Charrettaio				19	12	0	19	14	0				26	8	0				12	0	0	10	0	0	17	4	5				27	4	0				
Domenico di Giovanni	Charrettaio				23	2	0	9	16	0				16	10	0				29	16	0	3	6	0	24	6	0				16	10	0	19 13	4	0	
Matteo di Tofano	Fornaciaio	44	2	3	30	17	7	58	4	7				27	4	3	133	2	3	56	1	3	17	16	3	65	5	5	52	16	9	31	13	9	54	5	0	
Piero Massini	Renaiuolo				1	10	0	4	17	6															9	5	6											
Giovanni di Domenicho da Gaiuole	Scarpellatore	5	11	0	11	2	0	11	14	0										10	11	0				5	11	0										
Andrea di Giovanni	Fondatore				12	9	4	12	2	0							43	8	0	13	4	0	24	4	0													
Salvi d'Andrea	Scarpellatore	10	0	0	16	0	0				11	0	0				10	0	0	12	3	6							22	10	0	16	0	0				
Tommaso di Chimenti	Scarpellatore	7	17	0	16	0	0				8	0	0	7	0	0				7	0	0							11	0	0	7	0	0				
Vanni del Richo	Scarpellatore	17	5	0	15	11	0				12	0	0	15	15	0																						
Francesco di Giovanni	Scarpellatore	8	0	0	16	10	0				3	11	0							4	5	6				5	11	0	5	11	0	5	11	0				
Mariotto di Jacopo	Scarpellatore	5	11	0	13	2	0				6	11	0							17	17	0							16	2	0	7	0	0				
Cino di Dolfo	Scarpellatore	3	0	0	7	5	0				17	0	0																									
Martino di Zanobi	Scarpellatore	8	6	0																																		
Domenico del Ghor	Scarpellatore	5	11	0																																		
Francesco di Filippo	Scarpellatore	5	11	0																																		
Francesco del Corno	Maestro	5	11	0	15	11	3				1	2	0							5	11	0				11	0	0				6	0	0				
Luca di Pippo	Manovale	4	0	0	9	10	0				5	3	8							7	19	6							11	2	0	10	0	0				
Antonio di Marco	Manovale										5	11	0																				5	11	0			

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1472 [1473] (f.35.v.)			Feb. 5, 1472 [1473] (f.39v.)			March 5, 1472 [1473] (f.40v.)			April 5, 1473 (f.40v.)			May 5, 1473 (f.43v.)			June 5, 1473 (f.43v.)			July 5, 1473 (f.55v.)			Aug. 5, 1473 (f.55v.)			Sept. 5, 1473 (f.59v.)			Oct. 5, 1473 (f.59v.)			Nov. 5, 1473 (f.62v.)			Dec. 5, 1473 (f.62v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Benedetto di Antonio (da Maiano)	Manovale	3	0	0	10	10	0				6	14	0																								
Donato di Antonio	Manovale	3	0	0																																	
Giusto di Nanni	Manovale				8	0	0				3	2	0																								
Domenico di Meo	Manovale				8	0	0				3	2	0													11	2	0									
Domenicho di Nanni	Manovale	3	0	0																																	
Simone del Chaprino	Charrettaio										55	10	0																								
Piero di Simone Massini	Renaiuolo	6	3		17	0	0	16	5	0	6	6	0				6	15	0	14	14	0				9	15		5	17	0						
Toto di Maso	Fornaciaio										19	15	8																								
Maestro Pietro Lombardo	Fornaciaio										15	12	0	7	16	0									15	12	0										
Maso di Meo	Fornaciaio										22	19	0																								
Jacopo di Stefano di Jacopo	N/I										71	10	0																								
Giovanni di Michele	Scarpellatore	5	11	0	2	15	0																														
Bernardo di Lorenzo	Scarpellatore	5	11	0	5	11	0																														
Matteo di Giovanni	Scarpellatore	5	11	0	2	15	0																			5	11	0									
Jacopo del Conte	Scarpellatore	5	11	0	4	5	6																														
Tommaso di Antonio	Manovale				8	2	0																														
Domenico di Jacopo	Manovale	3	0	0	2	11	0																														
Giovanni di Maso	Manovale	3	0	0	2	11	0																		11	11	0										
Berto di Lucha	Manovale	3	0	0	8	2	0																														
Giusto d'Andrea	Manovale				8	0	0																														
Christofano di Lorenzo Paladino	Charrettaio	6	12	0	3	6	0													5	0	0								16	0	0	19	0	0		
Michele di Nicholò	Fornaciaio				7	6	2																														

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1472 [1473] (f.35.v.)			Feb. 5, 1472 [1473] (f.39v.)			March 5, 1472 [1473] (f.40v.)			April 5, 1473 (f.40v.)			May 5, 1473 (f.43v.)			June 5, 1473 (f.43v.)			July 5, 1473 (f.55v.)			Aug. 5, 1473 (f.55v.)			Sept. 5, 1473 (f.59v.)			Oct. 5, 1473 (f.59v.)			Nov. 5, 1473 (f.62v.)			Dec. 5, 1473 (f.62v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Bartolomeo di Piero Baccegli	Chavaiuolo												24	0	0																						
Piero di Piano di Mugnone	Chavaiuolo												44	0	0																						
Santi di Biagio detto "Comparino"	Renaiuolo															30	7	6	18	0	0	33	0	0													
Cristofano di Nanni detto "Ciofi"	Chavaiuolo															16	0	0																			
Matteo di Donino detto "Chargiolla"	Chavaiuolo															21	0	0				9 3	1	0	3	0	0										
Bartolo di Gerardo	Chavaiuolo															3	0	0																			
Felice di Mariotto da Fiesole	Chavaiuolo															105	9	0												33	10	0					
Talento di Giovanni Dallamano	Charrettaio																										35	0	0								
Gabriello di Romolo	Chavaiuolo																										18	0	0								
Giovanni di Antonio	Manovale																													5	11	0					
Fruosmo di Barto di Montegli	Renaiuolo																													1	2	0	3	17	0		
Francesco di Cambio	Charrettaio																		23	2	0	33	0	0	33	0	0	27	6	0	26	8	0	3	6	0	
Alexandro del Rico	Scarpellatore																		11	11	0				14	14	0				13	1	4				
Chino di Dolfo	Scarpellatore																		5	11	0									5	11	0					
Bartolomeo di Bartolomeo Ubertini	N/I																					16	10	0													
Maso di Meo di Giovanni	Fornaciaio																					21	15	0													
Lorenzo di Nicholo	Manovale																								12	1	6	11	15	0							

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1472 [1473] (f.35.v.)			Feb. 5, 1472 [1473] (f.39v.)			March 5, 1472 [1473] (f.40v.)			April 5, 1473 (f.40v.)			May 5, 1473 (f.43v.)			June 5, 1473 (f.43v.)			July 5, 1473 (f.55v.)			Aug. 5, 1473 (f.55v.)			Sept. 5, 1473 (f.59v.)			Oct. 5, 1473 (f.59v.)			Nov. 5, 1473 (f.62v.)			Dec. 5, 1473 (f.62v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Fabbiano di Meo	Manovale																											10	15	0	5	11	0				
Total payments in gross sums		206	150	3	364	215	22	211	96	13	326	142	16	197	82	3	381	44	9	257	126	21	220	72	3	249	86	22	267	120	9	262	129	17	134	34	0
Total number of workers and suppliers		27			32			10			20			10			9			17			13			14			15			20			6		

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

ASF, CRS, 122, 127

ASF, CRS, 122, 127		Payments																																			
Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1473[1474] (f.65v)			Feb. 5, 1473 [1474] (f. 65v.)			March 5, 1473 [1474] (f. 69v.)			April 5, 1474 (f. 73v.)			May 5, 1474 (f. 73v.)			June 5, 1474 (f. 77v.)			July 5, 1474 (f. 80v.)			Aug. 5, 1474 (f.80v.)			Sept. 5, 1474 (f.83v.)			Oct. 5, 1474 (f. 83v)			Nov. 5, 1474 (f.89v.)			Dec. 5, 1474 (f.89v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Alexandro del Richo	Scarpellatore	10	0	0				6	0	0	8	0	0	6	0	0	7	10	0	12	0	0	12	15	0	6	15	0	7	10	0	7	10	0	3	0	0
Mariotto di Jacopo	Scarpellatore	5	0	12							7	0	0	5	12	0	5	12	0	5	12	0				5	12	0							5	12	0
Cino di Dolfo	Scarpellatore	5	0	0										4	8	0				1	10	0				8	0	0	5	0	0				5	12	0
Giovanni di Mariano	Maestro	16	0	16							11	4	0	11	4	0	27	12	0	29	8	0	19	0	0									23	2	0	
Francesco del Corno	Maestro	5	0	12							5	12	0				6	2	0																		
Luca di Pippo	Manovale	8	0	0							8	0	0	4	0	0	6	0	0	7	14	0				4	8	0	4	0	0						
Giovanni di Antonio	Manovale	11	0	4							11	11	0	5	5	0	0	7	0	0	7	0															
Antonio di Marco	Manovale	3	0	0										2	8	0																					
Matteo di Tofano	Fornaciaio	67	12	3	46 2	7 10	6 0	86	18	9	78	1	6	69	19	37	115	4	0	156	9	0	74	17	9	193	5	1	165	8	8	97	3	3	93	18	6
Fruosmo di Berto	Renaiuolo	6	3	9							9 4	7	0 5	6	14	11	35	12	6	12 28	18 17	6 6	6 14	15 17	0 10	9 113	4 12	3 6	9 86	18 15	0 0	7	15	0			
Felice di Mariotto	Cavaiuolo	5	7	0				45	0	0																											
Michele di Stefano	Bottaio	19	10	0																																	
Matteo di Domenico Vieri	Cavaiuolo	13	4	0										6	0	0	6	0	0	21	0	0	6	0	0				6	0	0	6	0	0			
Salvi d'Andrea	Scarpellatore				19	6	8	10	0	0	8	7	4	10	0	0	10	0	0	14	10	0	6	10	0	10	16	0	11	0	0	10	0	0	11	4	0
Francesco di Bartolomeo	Renaiuolo				6	6	6	8	2	4																											
Antonio di Nicolo	Manovale				3	12	0				5	12	0	2	10	0	1	16	8																		
Domenico di Giovanni	Charrettaio				9	18	0	13 13	4 4																												
Giovanni del Richo	Scarpellatore										6	12	0							6	0	0	6	0	0	7	0	0	7	5	0						
Francesco di Giovanni	Scarpellatore										6	17	0	3	11	6	2	16	0							5	7	0	2	15	0				1	0	0

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1473[1474] (f.65v)			Feb. 5, 1473 [1474] (f. 65v.)			March 5, 1473 [1474] (f. 69v.)			April 5, 1474 (f. 73v.)			May 5, 1474 (f. 73v.)			June 5, 1474 (f. 77v.)			July 5, 1474 (f. 80v.)			Aug. 5, 1474 (f.80v.)			Sept. 5, 1474 (f.83v.)			Oct. 5, 1474 (f. 83v)			Nov. 5, 1474 (f.89v.)			Dec. 5, 1474 (f.89v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Domenico di Ghorò	Scarpellatore										5	12	0																								
Filippo di Giovanni	Scarpellatore										5	12	0																								
Papi di Antonio di Giovanni	Scarpellatore										5	12	0	5	12	0																					
Giuliano di Benedetto	Scarpellatore										5	12	0																								
Simone del Caprino	Cavaiuolo										95	15	0																								
Maso di Meo di S. Maria d'Impruneta	Fornaciaio										36	5																			58	4	6				
Matteo di Vanni	Scarpellatore										1	0	0												3	10	0										
Matteo di Giovanni	Scarpellatore										5	12	0												7	10	0										
Bartolomeo di Luca	Manovale										5	12	0																								
Alberto di Pasquino	Manovale										5	12	0				10	4	0	11	8	0				12	2	0	7	10	0						
Puccio di Francesco di Santa Brigida	Cavaiuolo										21	9	0																								
Francesco di Piero Baccegli	Cavaiuolo																					65 6	0 13	0 4	3	0	0										
Cristofano di Giovanni detto Cioffi	Cavaiuolo										15	0	0																								
Tommaso di Chimenti	Scarpellatore													5	0	0	18	5	6	19	2	6															
Benedetto di Antonio	Manovale													2	10	0																					
Giovanni di Maso	Manovale													5	12	0																					
Cristofano di Lorenzo	Charrettaio													6 44	12 0	0 0	6 6	12 12	0 0	19 34	16 0	0 0	23 26	2 0													
Francesco di Papi Cambio	Charrettaio													9	18	0	12 16	0 10	0 0	3	6	0				16	16	0	6	12	0						

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1473[1474] (f.65v)			Feb. 5, 1473 [1474] (f. 65v.)			March 5, 1473 [1474] (f. 69v.)			April 5, 1474 (f. 73v.)			May 5, 1474 (f. 73v.)			June 5, 1474 (f. 77v.)			July 5, 1474 (f. 80v.)			Aug. 5, 1474 (f.80v.)			Sept. 5, 1474 (f.83v.)			Oct. 5, 1474 (f. 83v)			Nov. 5, 1474 (f.89v.)			Dec. 5, 1474 (f.89v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Giovanni di Domenico	Fabbro												28	0	0																						
Giovanni di Domenico da Gaiuole	Scarpellatore															8	0	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	8	0	0	7	3	0				5	12	0	
Andrea di Giovanni	Fondatore															26	2	6	21	3	6	10	18	2	83	6	6	63	5	0							
Antonio di Papi	Scarpellatore															5	12	0	2	5	0									2	16	0	2	16	0		
Matteo di Jacopo	Scarpellatore															45	0	0	45	0	0																
Tommaso di Antonio	Manovale															9	10	0	9	10	0																
Matteo di Stefano	Fornaciaio															115	4	0																			
Jacopo del Conte	Scarpellatore																								7	0	0										
Martino di Zanobi	Scarpellatore																								4	10	0										
Antonio di Sandro da San Moro	Manovale																								13	4	0	6	12	0				3	6	0	
Jacopo di Giovanni	Manovale																											5	3	0	8	5	0	3	10	0	
Santi di Biagio Comparino	Renaiuolo																																5	10	0		
Total payments in gross sums		173	36	56	85	59	20	181	28	13	369	196	15	237	155	54	496	162	26	462	155	24	281	107	25	516	137	16	396	116	8	195	53	9	159	102	6
Total number of workers and suppliers		13			5			6			24			20			22			20			11			19			15			8			12		

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

ASF, CRS, 122, 127		Payments																																			
Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1474 [1475] (f.91v.)			Feb. 5, 1474 [1475] (f. 95v.)			March 5, 1474 [1475] (f. 95v.)			April 5, 1475 (f. 98v.)			May 5, 1475 (f.98v.)			June 5, 1475 (f. 104v.)			July 5, 1475 (f. 104v)			Aug. 5, 1475 (f. 109v.)			Sept. 5, 1475 (f. 109v.)			Oct. 5, 1475 (f. 109v.)			Nov. 5, 1475 (f. 113v.)			Dec. 5, 1475 1475 (f. 113v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Giovanni di Mariano	Maestro	11	4	0	22	11	0	26	9	0	14	0	0	11	8	0	10	16	0	12	0	0	14	0	0	12	0	0				12	4	0	12	0	0
Matteo di Tofano	Fornaciaio	132	10	3	121	12	0	76			99	2	6	62	10	0	45	13	6	80	17	6	187	12	10	152	18	2	11	18	0	82	1	0	40	0	6
Giovanni di Domenico da Gaiuole	Scarpellatore	7	12	0	5	12	0	2	11	0				5	14	0										3	5	0	13	18	0	6	0	0	3	0	0
Andrea di Giovanni	Fondatore	38	18	2							21	17	0										113	0	6												
Antonio di Papi	Scarpellatore				5	12	0				5	13	0	5	14	0							11	8	0												
Salvi d'Andrea	Scarpellatore	11	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	11	0	0	8	6	0	6	0	0	10	0	0	9	0	0	8	0	0	10	0	0	6	0	0			
Giovanni del Richo	Scarpellatore	11	0	0													2	17	0							22	2	0									
Francesco di Giovanni	Scarpellatore				5	12	0	2	8	0	2	8	0	2	17	0	2	17	0							3	5	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	4	0	0
Alexandro del Richo	Scarpellatore	4	11	0										2	17	0	4	14	0	7	0	0	5	7	0	2	5	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	2	7	0
Mariotto di Jacopo	Scarpellatore				5	12	0	5	12	0	2	16	6	2	17	0																					
Cino di Dolfo	Scarpellatore	10	4	0																																	
Luca di Pippo	Manovale	2	0	0				2	5	8	3	0	0	3	13	0	2	0	0	1	0	0				1	7	6							0	12	0
Bartolomeo di Domenico	Manovale	5	12	0																																	
Simone del Caprino	Cavaiuolo										9	18	0																						200	0	0
Fruosmo di Berto	Renaiuolo	8	13	3	5	1	9	12	13	0	10 18	6 0	3 0	9	4	8	7	8	6	12	14	10	3	8	9	11	4	3	1	2	0	8	5	0	5	4	6
Nardo di Giovanni	Renaiuolo										3	6	0																								
Maso di Meo di S. Maria d'Impruneta	Fornaciaio				2	8	0																														
Antonio di Sandro da San Moro	Manovale	9	18	0	3 20	6 0	0 0	3 40	6 0	0 0	3	6	0				13	4	0												30	2	0				

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1474 [1475] (f.91v.)			Feb. 5, 1474 [1475] (f. 95v.)			March 5, 1474 [1475] (f. 95v.)			April 5, 1475 (f. 98v.)			May 5, 1475 (f.98v.)			June 5, 1475 (f. 104v.)			July 5, 1475 (f. 104v)			Aug. 5, 1475 (f. 109v.)			Sept. 5, 1475 (f. 109v.)			Oct. 5, 1475 (f. 109v.)			Nov. 5, 1475 (f. 113v.)			Dec. 5, 1475 (f. 113v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Francesco di Papi Cambio	Charrettaio				3	6	0									4	0	0	5	0	0																
Alberto di Pasquino	Manovale							10	12	6	11	7	4	4	16	0	10	11	9	9	12	6	10	14	6	10	15	3	9	10	0	10	0	0	9	10	0
Giovanni di Piero Baccegli	Cavaiuolo	7	15	0																		154	2	6													
Matteo di Domenico di Vieri	Cavaiuolo										6	0	0																								
Jacopo di Giovanni da Verzaia	Manovale										13	4	0							5	14	0															
Santi di Biagio Comparino	Renaiuolo	14	17	6																																	
Felice di Mariotto	Cavaiuolo							47	0	0									45	0	0	100	0	0													
Francesco del Corno	Maestro													2	17	0	1	0	0																		
Matteo di Giovanni	Scarpellatore													2	17	0																					
Jacopo del Conte	Scarpellatore													2	17	0	0	10	0																		
Michele Cori	Charrettaio																4	0	0	10	0	0						6	12	0	8	6	0				
Andrea di Matteo	Scarpellatore													2	17	0												4	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	
Giovanni di Antonio	Manovale													2	17	0																					
Piero di Giovanni	Manovale													11	5	6																					
Antonio di Sandro	Charrettaio																			26	8	0	16	10	0	15	0	0	16 8	10 0	0 0				23	2	0
Bartolomeo di Nicolo di Stefano	N/I																					26	12	6													
Jacopo di Lorenzo	N/I																											45	0	0							
Giuliano di Piero	N/I																											15	12	0							
Total payments in gross sums		269	134	14	183	86	9	192	70	14	230	103	19	134	226	14	110	110	21	222	65	22	648	73	43	239	61	14	122	72	0	175	18	0	303	35	12
Total number of workers and suppliers		14			11			11			15			17			14			12			12			11			12			11			11		

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

ASF, CRS, 122, 127

ASF, CRS, 122, 127		Payments																																			
Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1475 [1476] (f. 116v.)			Feb. 5, 1475 [1476] (f. 116v.)			March 5, 1475 [1476] (f. 116v.)			April 5, 1476 (f. 116v.)			May 5, 1476 (f. 125v.)			June 5, 1476 (f. 125v.)			July 5, 1476 (f. 125v.)			Aug. 5, 1476 (f. 125v.)			Sept. 5, 1476 (f. 135v.)			Oct. 5, 1476 (f. 138v.)			Nov. 5, 1476 (f. 138v.)			Dec. 5, 1476 (f. 141v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Giovanni di Marianno	Maestro	14	0	0	14	0	0	14	0	0	15	0	0	14	0	0	15	0	0	15	0	0	15	0	0	15	0	0	15	0	0	15	0	0			
Matteo di Tofano	Fornaciaio	63	5	6	73	5	0	165	7	6	144	5	10	120	12	6	154	12	0	195	17	6	95	14	9	73	10	3	42	5	7	26	0	0	27	12	6
Giovanni di Domenico da Gaiuole	Scarpellatore	3	0	0							2	13	4				4	18	4														5	12	0		
Salvi d'Andrea	Scarpellatore	5	14	0	6	8	6										3	0	0	4	10	0				5	14	0									
Francesco di Giovanni	Scarpellatore	5	0	0	6	16	0	1	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0
Matteo di Giovanni	Scarpellatore				5	14	0										4	0	0	6	7	0				11	8	0									
Andrea di Matteo	Scarpellatore	6	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0																					3	6	0	3	13	4	
Alexandro del Richo	Scarpellatore				1	15	0	5	14	0																					6	13	4				
Mariotto di Jacopo	Scarpellatore				5	14	0																		5	14	0	7	3	0							
Giovanni di Matteo Battagliere	Renaiuolo										46	15	0				35	0	0	10	8	0															
Fruosmo di Berto	Renaiuolo	5	4	6	9	7	0	11 35	0 6	0 10	11 8	5 2	0 9	19	2	3	12	2	0	17	6	6	10	16	0	8	18	9	7	0	3	4	8	0	4	13	6
Antonio di Sandro da San Moro	Manovale				13	4	0																														
Giovanni di Antonio	Manovale										5	14	0																								
Francesco di Papi Cambio	Charrettaio				19	16	0	42 4	18 0	0 0	33 8	0 0	0 0	55	10	0	24	16	0	77 15 3	6 0 6	0 0 0	26 6	16 12	0 0	28 3 7	10 6 0	0 0 0	24 2	18 12	0 0				13	4	0
Antonio di Sandro	Charrettaio							19 16	16 0	0 0	13 4	12 0	0 0	19	16	0	29	14	0	47 15	0 0	0 0	42 31	10 12	0 0	41	8	0	23	2	0	13	4	0	9	18	0
Domenico di Giovanni	Charrettaio				9	18	0							3	6	0																					
Alberto di Pasquino	Manovale	10	0	0	9	5	0	11	2	3	11	0	0				3	18	11																		
Maso di Meo	Fornaciaio																			22	16	0															
Mariotto e Antonio da Checo	Fornaciai																			43	15	0	9	12	0	16	18	4	20	14	4						

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1475 [1476] (f. 116v.)			Feb. 5, 1475 [1476] (f. 116v.)			March 5, 1475 [1476] (f. 116v.)			April 5, 1476 (f. 116v.)			May 5, 1476 (f. 125v.)			June 5, 1476 (f. 125v.)			July 5, 1476 (f. 125v.)			Aug. 5, 1476 (f. 125v.)			Sept. 5, 1476 (f. 135v.)			Oct. 5, 1476 (f. 138v.)			Nov. 5, 1476 (f. 138v.)			Dec. 5, 1476 (f. 141v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Giovanni del Richo	Scarpellatore															8	0	0														3	6	0	3	13	4
Piero di Giovanni	Manovale																			10	5	4	12	12	0												
Antonio di Simone di Ricciardo e Giuliano	N/I																		22	16	0																
Jacopo di Giraldo Lombardo	Charretaio																		7	15	0																
Luca di Pippo	Manovale																		1	11	0																
Jacopo di [?]	Charretaio															9	18	0																			
Antonio di Chimenti detto Antonio Bello	Charretaio															3	6	0					31	12	0	16	10	0	23	2	0						
Stefano di Antonio	Charretaio															8	6	0	3	2	0																
Cristofano di Lorenzo Paladino	Charretaio															4	17	6	22	0	0				3	6	0										
Matteo di Vanni	Scarpellatore																							5	14	0											
Toto di Maso	Fornaciaio																											26	1	0	5	0	0				
Total payments in gross sums		111	23	12	173	122	6	327	77	19	305	80	23	235	60	9	320	141	21	529	149	12	280	123	13	253	162	16	192	71	14	80	51	4	84	99	20
Total number of workers and suppliers		8			13			9			10			7			16			16			9			14			10			9			9		

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

ASF, CRS, 122, 127		Payments																																					
Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1476 [1477] (f. 141v.)			Feb. 5, 1476 [1477] (f. 141v.)			March 5, 1476 [1477] (f.141v.)			April 5, 1477 (f. 147v.)			May 5, 1477 (f. 147v.)			June 5, 1477 (f. 150v.)			July 5, 1477 (f. 154v.)			Aug. 5, 1477 (f.154v.)			Sept. 5, 1477 (f. 160v.)			Oct. 5, 1477 (f.160v.)			Nov. 5, 1477 (f. 160v.)			Dec. 5, 1477 (f. 160v.)				
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.		
Giovanni di Mariano	Maestro	9	18	0	15	0	0	15	0	0	15	0	0	15	0	0																							
Matteo di Tofano	Fornaciaio	42	8	0	78	7	3	90	0	0	112	2	1	135	6	3	174	5	9	329	12	3	98	12	1	82	1	3	19	2	0	56	1	0	75	1	3		
Giovanni di Domenico da Gaiuole	Scarpellatore	5	12	0	5	14	0	7	5	0																													
Salvi d'Andrea	Scarpellatore	5	14	0	5	14	0	1	16	0																													
Domenico di Jacopo	N/I	15	0	0																																			
Giovanni del Richo	Scarpellatore										5	14	0	5	14	0				5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0											
Giovanni di Michele	Scarpellatore							7	4	0							5	14	0																				
Francesco di Giovanni	Scarpellatore	6	0	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	5	14	0	2	0	0		
Andrea di Matteo	Scarpellatore	5	14	0	5	14	0	8	0	0	9	10	0																										
Mariotto di Jacopo	Scarpellatore				5	14	0	5	18	0				1	10	0																							
Fruosmo di Berto	Renaiuolo	1	13	0	8	7	9	9	18	0	15	3	1	12	4	9	1	2	0	180	0	0									3	17	0						
Piero di Giovanni	Manovale				0	11	0										1	13	0																				
Giovanni di Fruosmo	Manovale							13	2	6																													
Lucca di Pippo	Manovale										1	14	0				3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0		
Cipriano di Maffio	N/I										3	10	2																										
Francesco di Papi Cambio	Charretaio	13	4	0	23	2	0	29	19	0	9	18	0	6	12	0							42 6 6	18 12 12	0 0 0	82	0	0	6	12	0	26	8	0	39	12	0		
Antonio di Sandro	Charretaio	19	16	0	48	0	0	38	8	0	26	4	0	63	8	0	34	14	0	39	12	0	61	2	0	66	8	0	23	2	0	42	18	0	36	6	0		
Cristofano di Lorenzo Paladino	Charretaio	9	18	0	10	12	0	36	6	0	28	4	0							32 4	2 0 0																		
Antonio Manzoni	Charretaio							3	6	0	9	18	0	17	4	0	33	0	0	26	8	0	26	8	0	3	6	0											

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1476 [1477] (f. 141v.)			Feb. 5, 1476 [1477] (f. 141v.)			March 5, 1476 [1477] (f.141v.)			April 5, 1477 (f. 147v.)			May 5, 1477 (f. 147v.)			June 5, 1477 (f. 150v.)			July 5, 1477 (f. 154v.)			Aug. 5, 1477 (f.154v.)			Sept. 5, 1477 (f. 160v.)			Oct. 5, 1477 (f.160v.)			Nov. 5, 1477 (f. 160v.)			Dec. 5, 1477 (f. 160v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Mariotto di Antonio di Checo di Giunto	Fornaciaio				49	6	0							28	2	9																					
Simone del Caprina	Cavaiuolo	114	0	0																																	
Toto di Maso	Fornaciaio							5	0	0																											
Pagholo Pichardo	Fornaciaio							10	17	6																											
Francesco del Corno	Maestro													2	16	0																					
Alexandro del Rico	Scarpellatore																143	5	0	16 16	8 3	9 0															
Pippo di Belfante	Scarpellatore																			5	14	0															
Domenico di Antonio	Scarpellatore																			2	0	0															
Zanobi di Fruosmo	Manovale																5	14	0																		
Giovanni di Antonio	Manovale																2	0	0	8	14	0	1	0	0												
Luca di Fruosmo	Manovale																4	0	0	6	0	0				2	0	0									
Antonio di Chimenti detto Antonio Bello	Charretaio																53	10	0	19	16	0	6	12	0	82	1	3									
Barnaba del Baschaglio	Scarpellatore																			38	19	2	3 3 6	6 6 12	0 0 0												
Domenico di Bino	Charretaio																36	0	0																		
Antonio di Giovanni	N/I													8	0	0																					
Mariotto di Matteo	N/I																								14	19	3										
Piero e Toto di Maso	Fornaciai																															2	15	0			
Betto di Zanobi	Manovale																						12	2	0												
Total payments in gross sums		243	117	0	256	115	12	281	133	12	237	111	4	297	90	21	499	91	9	733	136	14	283	130	1	344	63	9	56	30	0	137	73	0	155	19	3

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1476 [1477] (f. 141v.)			Feb. 5, 1476 [1477] (f. 141v.)			March 5, 1476 [1477] (f.141v.)			April 5, 1477 (f. 147v.)			May 5, 1477 (f. 147v.)			June 5, 1477 (f. 150v.)			July 5, 1477 (f. 154v.)			Aug. 5, 1477 (f.154v.)			Sept. 5, 1477 (f. 160v.)			Oct. 5, 1477 (f.160v.)			Nov. 5, 1477 (f. 160v.)			Dec. 5, 1477 (f. 160v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Total number of workers and suppliers		12			13			16			12			12			14			15			11			10			5			7			5		

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

ASF, CRS, 122, 127		Payments																																			
Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1477 [1478] (f. 163v.)			Feb. 5, 1477 [1478] (f. 163v.)			March 5, 1477 [1478] (f. 168v.)			April 5, 1478 (f. 168v.)			May 5, 1478 (f. 174v.)			June 5, 1478 (f. 174v.)			July 5, 1478 (f. 174v.)			Aug. 5, 1478 (f. 177v.)			Sept., 5, 1478 (f. 177v.)			Oct. 5, 1478 (f. 177v.)			Nov. 5, 1478 (f. 180v.)			Dec. 5, 1478 (f. 180v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Giovanni di Mariano	Maestro				4	0	0	13	5	0																											
Matteo di Tofano	Fornaciaio	160	10	0	76	6	1	45	10	0	97	14	2	63	11	0	143	8	0	63	2	6	14	12	6	48	6	9	48	7	6	29	5	0	78	12	1
Salvi d'Andrea	Maestro dello Scarpello	2	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0				5	16	0							4	0	0				9	0	0						
Francesco di Giovanni	Scarpellatore	6	10	0	5	15	0	5	15	0				3	0	0	1	10	0													4	0	0			
Giovanni di Domenico da Gaiuole	Scarpellatore	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	5	5	0																		
Alexandro del Rico	Scarpellatore				5	0	0				11	10	0							11	12	6										9	0	0	9	0	0
Giovanni del Rico	Scarpellatore										5	15	0	5	15	0	11	10	0				5	15	0												
Fruosmo di Berto	Renaiuolo	6	12	0	6	13	5	7	14	0							17	5	0										7	19	6	4	19	0	4	9	5
Luca di Pippo	Manovale	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	5	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	8	15	0				3	0	0
Lazaro di Bartolo	Manovale	2	5	0																								3	10	0							
Francesco di Papi Cambio	Charrettaio	36	6	0	43	18	0	36	6	0	9	18	0				65	14	0	42	18	0	6	12	0												
Antonio di Sandro	Charrettaio	39	12	0	49	10	0	36	6	0	36	6	0	61	16	0	46	16	0	23	2	0	12 9	6 18	0 0	16	10	0				23	2	0	9	16	0
Antonio Manzoni	Charrettaio	6	12	0	6	12	0	42	18	0																											
Talento di Giovanni d'Alemanno	Cavaiuolo							17	5	0																					44	0	0				
Bernardo di Tommaso di Angelo Corbinelli e fratelli	N/I	15	16	8																																	
Andrea d'Ugolino di Andrea	Fornaciaio										16	1	8	3	6	0																					

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1477 [1478] (f. 163v.)			Feb. 5, 1477 [1478] (f. 163v.)			March 5, 1477 [1478] (f. 168v.)			April 5, 1478 (f. 168v.)			May 5, 1478 (f. 174v.)			June 5, 1478 (f. 174v.)			July 5, 1478 (f. 174v.)			Aug. 5, 1478 (f. 177v.)			Sept., 5, 1478 (f. 177v.)			Oct. 5, 1478 (f. 177v.)			Nov. 5, 1478 (f. 180v.)			Dec. 5, 1478 (f. 180v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Mariotto di Antonio di Checo di Giusto	Fornaciaio	34	5	0																																	
Mariotto di Jacopo	Scarpellatore																	3	0	0	2	0	0	1	17	0	5	15	0	2	2	0					
Matteo di Lorenzo	Charrettaio																	16	10	0	3 13	6 4	0 0	13	4	0											
Piero e Toto di Maso	Fornaciai														17	7	0																				
Giovanni dell'Antella	N/I																							19	16	0							5	10	0		
Barnaba di Cino del Botte	Manovale																							11	0	6	2	10	0	7	10	0	10	10	0		
Berto di Luca	Manovale																										1	8	4								
Gasparre Bandini Baroncelli	N/I													31	5	6	30	12	0	5	8	0	6	10	0												
Total payments in gross sums		312	88	8	204	74	6	211	79	0	180	64	10	177	69	6	340	87	0	166	52	12	77	83	6	111	53	15	83	84	16	122	38	0	118	57	6
Total number of workers and suppliers		12			11			11			8			9			11			8			9			7			8			8			7		

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

ASF, CRS, 122, 127		Payments																																				
Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1478 [1479] (f. 184v.)			Feb. 5, 1478 [1479] (f. 184v.)			March 5, 1478 [1479] (f. 184v.)			April 5, 1479 (f. 184v.)			May 5, 1479 (F. 186v.)			June 5, 1479 (f. 190v.)			July 5, 1479 (f. 190v.)			Aug. 5, 1479 (f. 191r.)			Sept. 5, 1479 (f. 194v.)			Oct. 5, 1479 (f. 194v.)			Nov. 5, 1479 (f. 199v.)			Dec. 5, 1479 (f. 199v.)			
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.				
Giovanni di Mariano	Maestro	5	0	0	5	0	0	6	0	0																	12	0	0				11	12	0			
Matteo di Tofano	Fornaciaio	64	12	6	58	15	0	69	19	0	55	5	0	26	9	4	150	9	0	27	12	6						149	3	0								
Salvi d'Andrea	Capomaestro dello Scarpello							5	16	0	5	6	0	5	16	0	5	16	0	5	16	0						12	29	0	0	48	0	0	2	18	0	
Francesco di Giovanni	Scarpellatore	2	14	0							5	16	0														12	0	0	3	5	11	16	0	0	2	18	0
Alexandro del Rico	Scarpellatore	9	0	0	9	0	0	10	8	0				1	0	0				0	11	8																
Giovanni di Domenico da Gaiuole	Scarpellatore							4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	10	18	0					12	0	0					5	16	0		
Giovanni del Rico	Scarpellatore							11	0	0										2	0	0	3	15	0	11	12	0	12	0	0				5	16	0	
Matteo di Giovanni	Scarpellatore							4	0	0	2	19	0							3	14	0					12	12	0	0				8	0	0		
Mariotto di Jacopo	Scarpellatore										1	7	0							4	0	0	4	10	0	3	13	0	12	0	0				5	16	0	
Fruosmo di Berto	Renaiuolo	4	8	4	3	17	0	6	1	0	9	7	0	4	12	1	8	5	0	4	13	6	6	12	0	8	1	4	11	0	0	8	5	0	9	50	18	0
Luca di Pippo	Manovale	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	1	7	0							3	0	0	3	6	0													
Lazaro di Bartolo	Manovale										2	0	0				1	8	8	3	0	0						6	0	0	6	0	0	2	18	0		
Barnaba di Cino del Botte	Manovale	11	10	0	9	5	0	13	2	6	12	7	6	11	0	0	11	11	0	14	17	0	12	13	0	9	9	0	11	0	0							
Antonio di Sandro	Charrettaio							29	14	0	29	14	0																									
Simone del Caprino	Cavaiuolo	14	7	0							106	16	0	133	10	0	84	1	0	48	19	0						25	4	0	25	0						
Piero de'Rossi	Provveditore							5	8	0																												
Francesco del Corno	Maestro																			1	3	0						12	0	0				5	16	0		
Jacopo de Conte	Scarpellatore																			0	8	0	0	4	0			12	0	0				10	0	0		
Alberto di Pasquino	Manovale																			0	13	4						4	4	0	7	16	0					

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1478 [1479] (f. 184v.)			Feb. 5, 1478 [1479] (f. 184v.)			March 5, 1478 [1479] (f. 184v.)			April 5, 1479 (f. 184v.)			May 5, 1479 (F. 186v.)			June 5, 1479 (f. 190v.)			July 5, 1479 (f. 190v.)			Aug. 5, 1479 (f. 191r.)			Sept. 5, 1479 (f. 194v.)			Oct. 5, 1479 (f. 194v.)			Nov. 5, 1479 (f. 199v.)			Dec. 5, 1479 (f. 199v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Jacopo di Giovanni	Manovale																	4	10	0							11	0	0	1	0	0	2	18	0		
Romolo di Antonio	Manovale																	1	10	0							5	10	0	6	10	0					
Ulivieri di Giovanni	Manovale																	0	2	0							7	0	0	5	0	0					
Giovanni di Betto	Cavaiuolo																					48	19	0	44	10	0	29	1	0	26	8	0				
Antonio Sachi	Scarpellatore																										12	0	0								
Martino di Zanobi	Scarpellatore																	0	12	0							12	0	0								
Francesco Baccegli	Scarpellatore																										12	0	0								
Domenico di Ghorò	Scarpellatore																	4	0	0		3	0	0				12	0	0							
Tommaso di Antonio	Manovale																										12	0	0								
Giovanni di Antonio	Manovale																										12	0	0								
Antonio di Bartolo	Manovale																										12	0	0								
Francesco di Antonio	Manovale																										8	0	0	4	0	0					
Luca di Francesco	Manovale																										8	0	0								
Francesco di Papi Cambio	Charrettaio																								4	0	0	19	16	0	49	10	0	19	16	0	
Antonio Manzoni	Charrettaio																										12	0	0								
Michele Chori	Cavaiuolo																										12	0	0								
Jacopo di Stefano	Fabbro																										12	0	0								
Total payments in gross sums		112	51	10	87	37	0	165	68	6	231	104	6	184	47	5	263	50	8	135	192	24	79	79	0	79	45	4	562	38	0	193	76	0	135	164	0
Total number of workers and suppliers		8			6			12			12			7			7			20			8			6			32			12			13		

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

ASF, CRS, 122, 127				Payments																																	
Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1479 [1480] (f. 199v.)			Feb. 5, 1479 [1480] (f. 204v.)			March 5, 1479 [1480] (f. 204v.)			April 5, 1480 (f. 199v.)			May 5, 1480 (f. 207v.)			June 5, 1480 (f. 211v.)			July 5, 1480 (f. 211v.)			Aug. 5, 1480 (f. 212v.)			Sept. 5, 1480 (f. 221v.)			Oct. 5, 1480 (f. 222v.)			Nov. 5, 1480 (f. 222v.)			Dec. 5, 1480 (f. 222v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Giovanni di Mariano	Capomaestro												6	0	0	16	0	0	11	14	0				20	0	0	15	0	0	8	0	0	6	0	0	
Matteo di Tofano	Fornaciaio	122	18	6	100	1	0	23	10	0	7	12	0									7	0	10							21	2	0	6	10	0	
Salvi d'Andrea	Capomaestro dell Scarpello															8	0	0	10	0	0	9	0	0	14	0	0	13	0	0	10	7	0	10	0	0	
Alexandro del Rico	Scarpellatore										23	12	6				100	0	0				33	6	0												
Antonio Sachi	Scarpellatore							7	0	0	5	12	0	2	19	0									2	19	0				5	18	8				
Francesco Baccegli	Scarpellatore							7	0	0	5	12	0	2	19	0									8	9	0										
Fruosmo di Berto	Renaiuolo	8	5	0	6	12	0	7	14	0	10	0	0	1	13	0	4	8	0				4	8	0	4	9	5				3	6	0			
Barnaba di Cino del Botte	Manovale				9	0	0	12	12	0															5	18	0	5	0	0	6	0	0				
Santi di Francesco Cambio	Charrettaio	9	18	0	6	12	0	26	8	0	39	12	0	16	10	0	6 16	12 10	0 0							3 3	6 6	0 0	5	19	0	9	18	0			
Giovanni di Betto	Charrettaio	2	0	0				17	2	0				12	12	0																					
Simone del Caprino	Cavaiuolo	24	0	0							63	4	0	21	0	0									84	11	0	63	7	0	22	5	0	35	12	0	
Stefano di Luca di Martino	Bottaio				28	0	0																														
Guido di Simone	N/I										17	12	0																								
Francesco del Corno	Maestro													4	0	0	6	0	0	2	12	0				5	10	0	1	5	0	8	0	0	6	0	0
Martino di Zanobi	Scarpellatore																5	0	0	5	12	0	2	0	0	3	1	0									
Francesco di Giovanni	Scarpellatore																6	0	0	7	0	0	11	10	0	9	0	0	8	0	0	6	19	0	6	0	0
Matteo di Giovanni	Scarpellatore																11	12	0	5 1	0 0	0 0				6	0	4				5	12	6	3	2	0
Domenico di Goro	Scarpellatore																6	0	0	6	12	0				4	10	0				6	5	4			

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1479 [1480] (f. 199v.)			Feb. 5, 1479 [1480] (f. 204v.)			March 5, 1479 [1480] (f. 204v.)			April 5, 1480 (f. 199v.)			May 5, 1480 (f. 207v.)			June 5, 1480 (f. 211v.)			July 5, 1480 (f. 211v.)			Aug. 5, 1480 (f. 212v.)			Sept. 5, 1480 (f. 221v.)			Oct. 5, 1480 (f. 222v.)			Nov. 5, 1480 (f. 222v.)			Dec. 5, 1480 (f. 222v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Giovanni del Rico	Scarpellatore																		8	0	0	2	12	0	7	0	0	9	3	0	6	0	0				
Mariotto di Jacopo	Scarpellatore															6	6	0	6	6	0	3	18	0	10	0	0	3	15	8	10	4	8				
Jacopo del Conte	Scarpellatore															6	0	0	6	12	0				6	15	0				3	5	0				
Giovanni di Domenico	Scarpellatore															6	0	0	6	12	0	2	14	0	10	0	0	8	0	0	9	9	0	5	0	0	
Jacopo di Giovanni	Manovale												11	0	0	4	8	0	4	12	0	9	7	0	6	5	0				4	15	0				
Romolo di Antonio	Manovale															4	0	0	4	12	0	4	0	0	3	19	0				5	0	0				
Luca di Francesco	Manovale															4	0	0				3	12	0	3	10	0				5	10	0				
Lazaro di Bartolo	Manovale															4	0	0	4	12	0	6	12	0													
Ulivieri di Giovanni	Manovale															4	0	0				4	0	0	4	5	0				4	19	0				
Nicolo di Luca	Manovale															5	0	0				4	15	0	6	0	0	5	0	0	10	2	6	2	0	0	
Tommaso di Antonio	Manovale															6	0	0	6	12	0	2	19	0	2	19	0				0	5	0				
Giovanni di Antonio	Manovale															6	0	0	6	12	0				4	3	0				0	10	8				
Alberto di Pasquino	Manovale															4	0	0	3	12	0	5	0	0	5	5	0										
Antonio di Sandro	Charrettaio												7 3	0 6	0 0	2 2	6 6	0 0							5	5	0										
Antonio Manzoni	Charretaio												10	0	0	6	12	0																			
Michele Cori	Charrettaio															16	16	0												1	10	0					
Jacopo di Tofano	Fabbro												6	6	0																						
Mariotto di Papi	Scarpellatore																																6	0	0		
Bernardo di Giorgio	Scarpellatore																								8	13	0				6	18	4				
Francesco di Antonio	Manovale																								8	18	0										
Romolo di Antonio Manzoni	Charrettaio																								19	16	0										

Appendix D: Worker/Supplier Payment Records 1472-1481

Name	Profession	Jan. 5, 1479 [1480] (f. 199v.)			Feb. 5, 1479 [1480] (f. 204v.)			March 5, 1479 [1480] (f. 204v.)			April 5, 1480 (f. 199v.)			May 5, 1480 (f. 207v.)			June 5, 1480 (f. 211v.)			July 5, 1480 (f. 211v.)			Aug. 5, 1480 (f. 212v.)			Sept. 5, 1480 (f. 221v.)			Oct. 5, 1480 (f. 222v.)			Nov. 5, 1480 (f. 222v.)			Dec. 5, 1480 (f. 222v.)		
		l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.			
Total payments in gross sums		165	41	6	149	25	0	99	46	0	169	76	6	101	85	0	279	96	0	100	152	0	110	133	10	276	232	9	135	49	8	172	199	44	85	24	0
Total number of workers and suppliers		5			5			7			8			12			25			17			17			28			11			25			10		

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Images

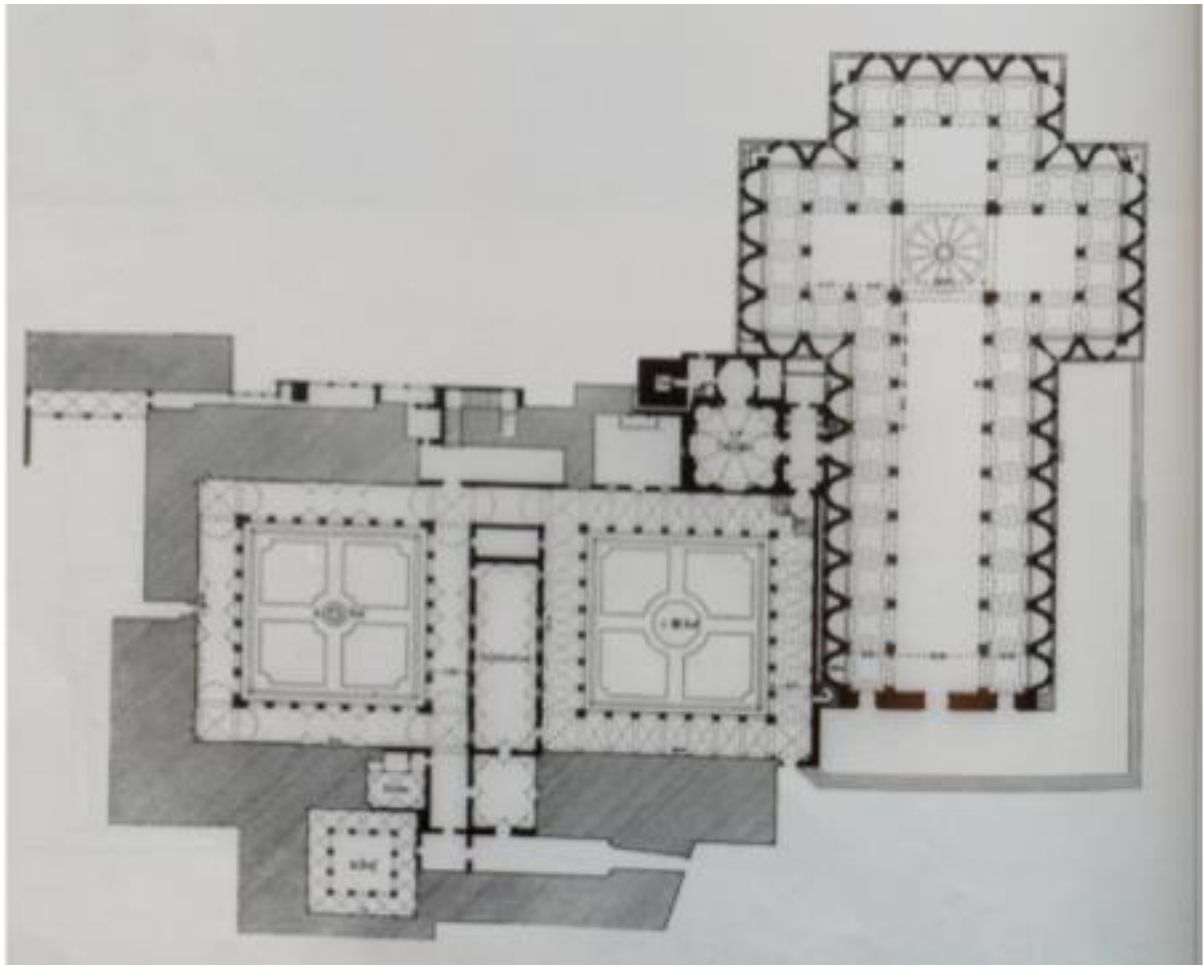


Fig. 1 - Floor plan of Church and Convent of Santo Spirito, Florence
(F. Quinterio, 1996, 40.)



Fig. 2 - “Chain Map” of Florence, c. 1471 (www.oneonta.edu)



Fig. 3 - Aerial View of Florence (photo: www.theeyetravels.com)



Fig. 4 - Interior View of the Old Sacristy in San Lorenzo, Florence
(photo: Wikipedia Commons)

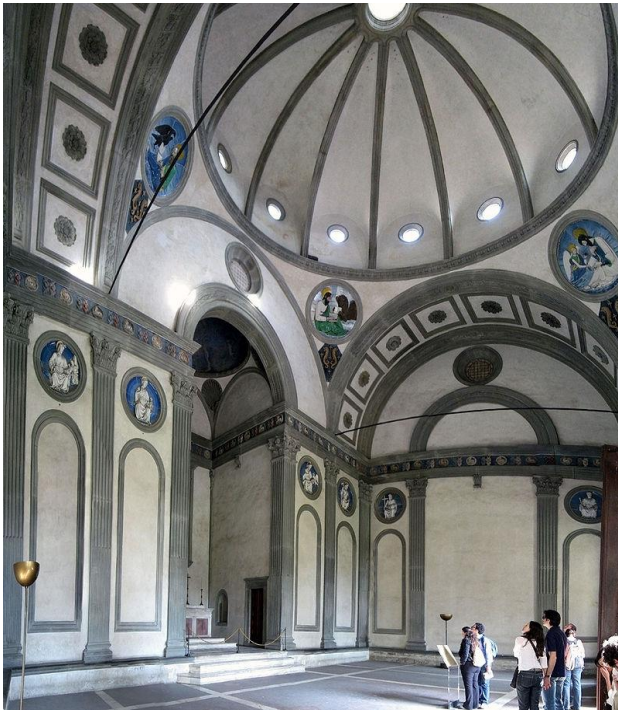
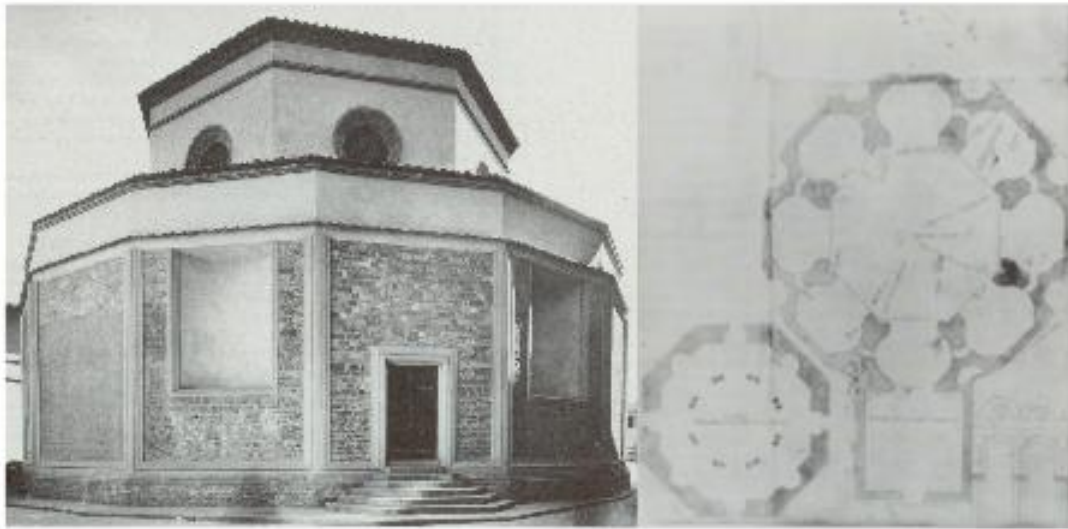


Fig. 5 - Interior View of the Pazzi Chapel in Santa Croce, Florence
(photo: Wikipedia Commons)



Exterior View and Floor plan of Santa Maria degli Angeli, Florence

Fig. 6 - (photo and Giuliano da Sangallo's plan: H. Saalman, 1993, 283, 404.)



Fig. 7 - Nave of San Lorenzo, Florence (photo: Wikipedia Commons)

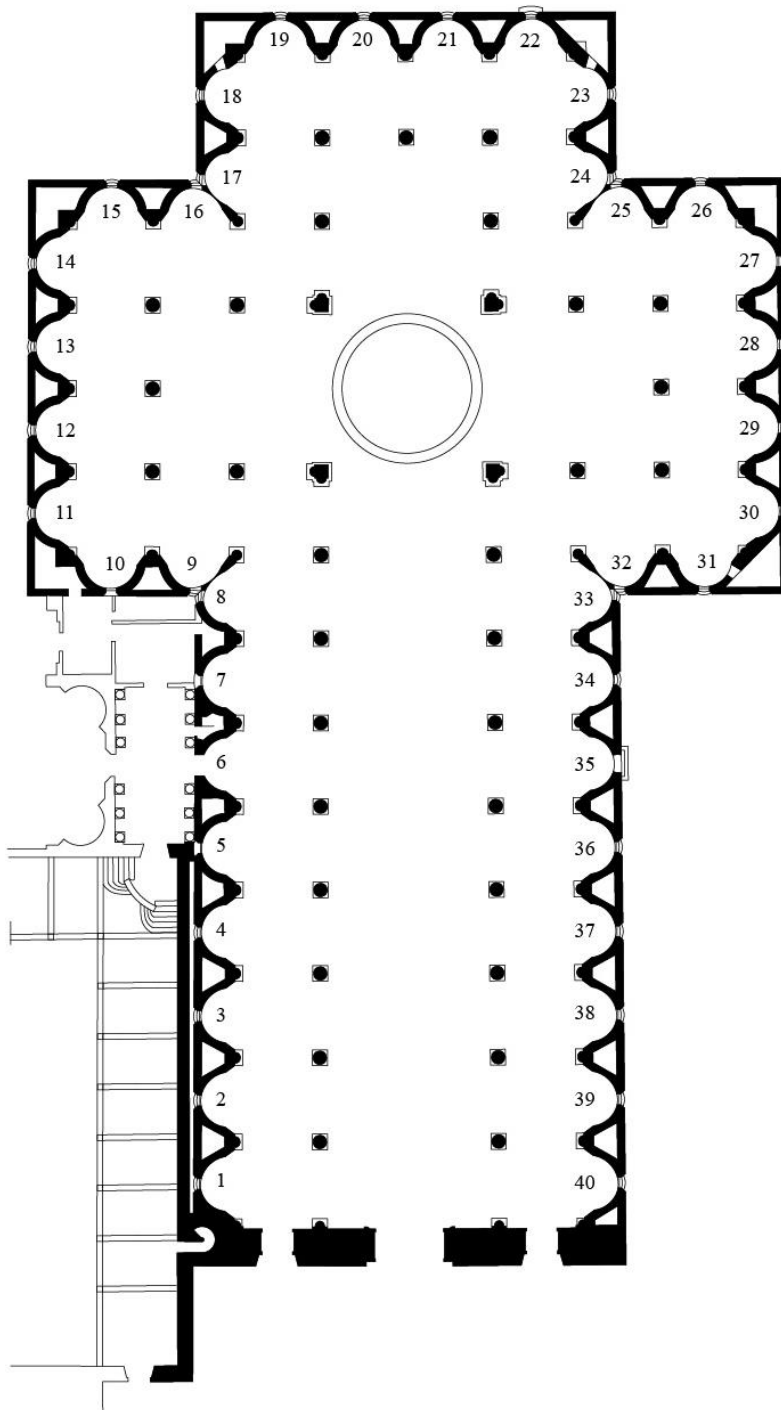


Fig. 8 - Floor plan of Santo Spirito, Florence, with numbered chapels (Author with Graduate School of Architecture, Kent State University in Florence)



Fig. 9 - Nave of Santo Spirito, Florence (photo: Wikipedia Commons)

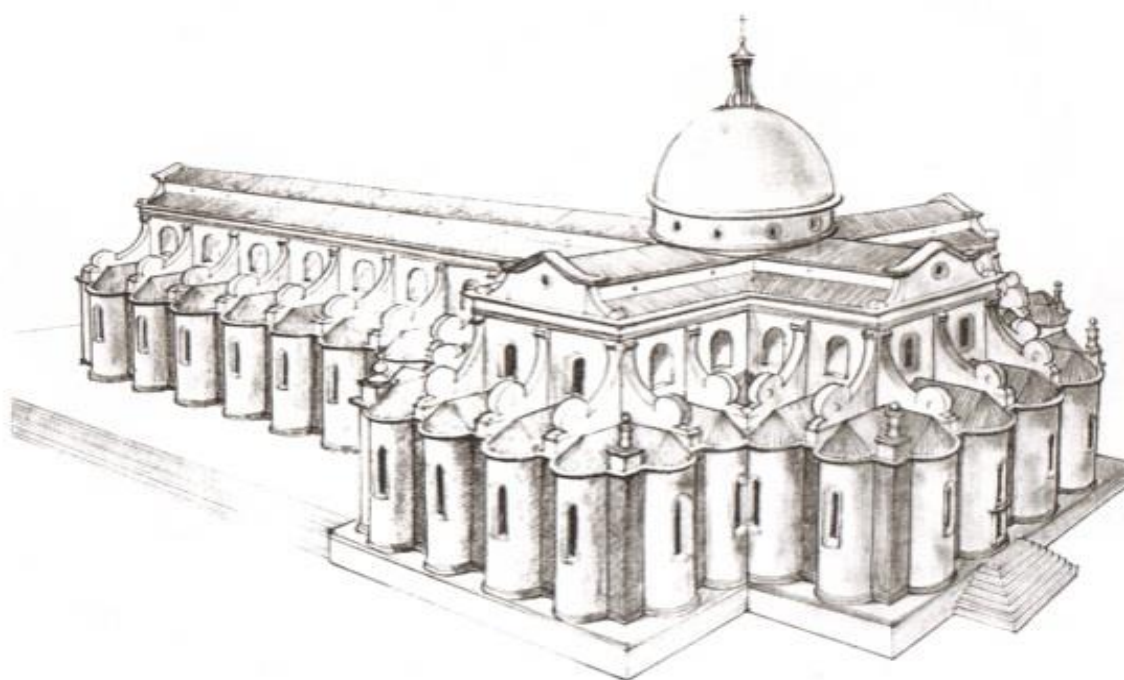


Fig. 10 - Hypothetical Reconstruction of Santo Spirito with extruding chapels
(P. Sanpaolesi, 1962, Illustration D)



Fig. 11 - Hypothetical Reconstruction of Santo Spirito with extruding chapels
(F. Quinterio, 1996, 96.)

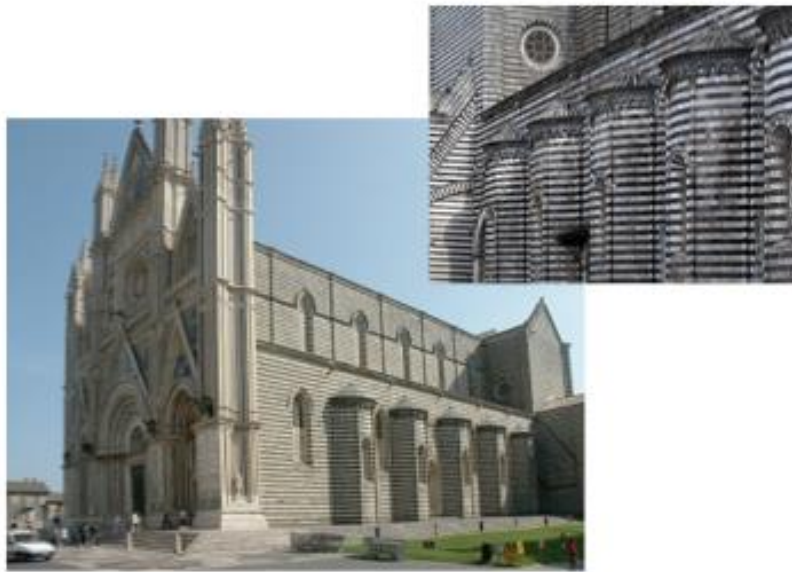


Fig. 12 - Exterior View of the Orvieto cathedral with detail of extruding chapels
 (photo: Wikipedia Commons)

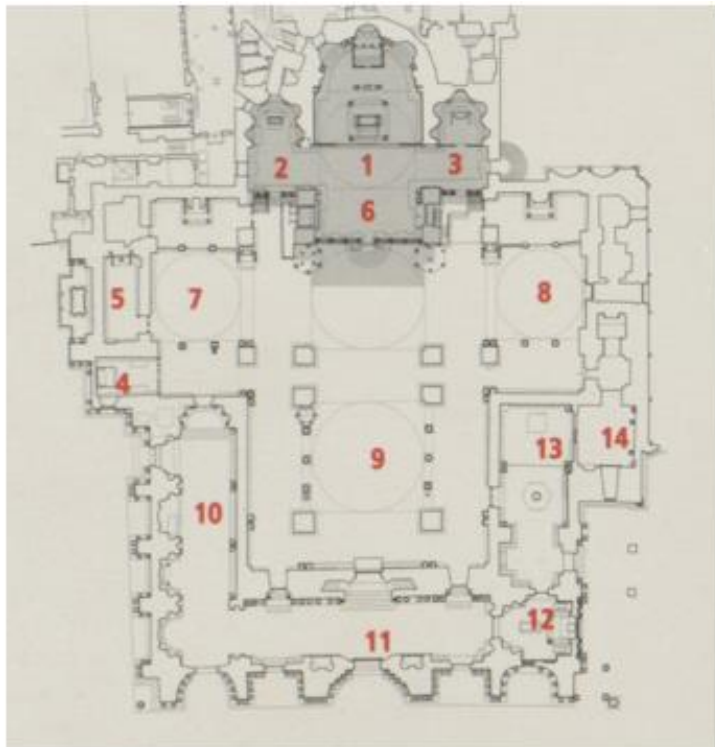


Fig. 13 - Floor plan of the Basilica of St. Mark, Venice (E. Vito, 2001, 116.)

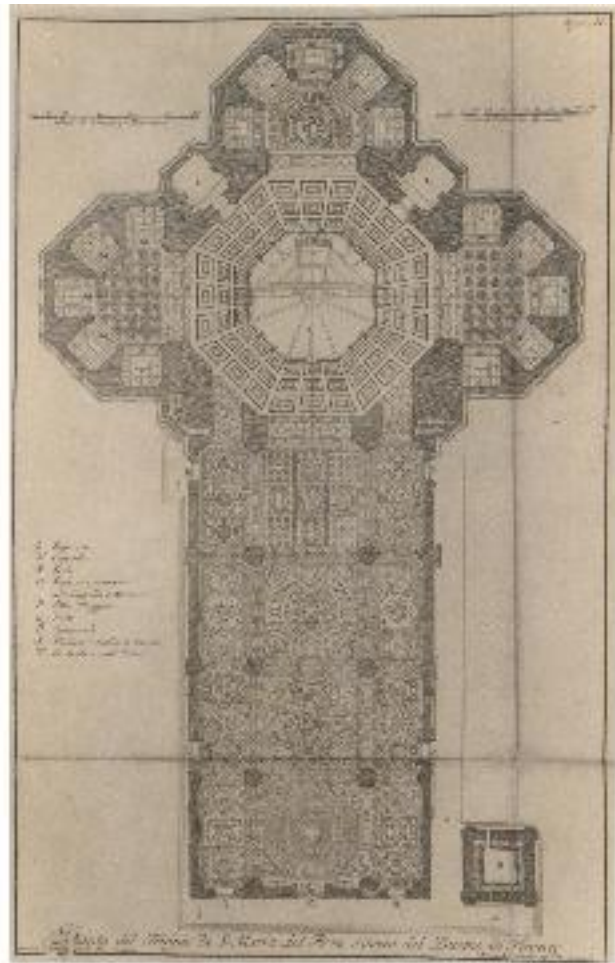


Fig. 14 – Floor plan of Florence cathedral (F. Gurrieri, 1994, 46.)



Fig. 15 - Detail of exterior moldings on rear chapels of Santo Spirito, Florence
(cornice in lower left image is still visible from the exterior of the church)
(photos: L. Benevolo, 1968, 60.)



Fig. 16 - Interior nave view towards façade of Santo Spirito, Florence, with flat timber roof visible (photo: F. Quinterio, 1996, 99.)

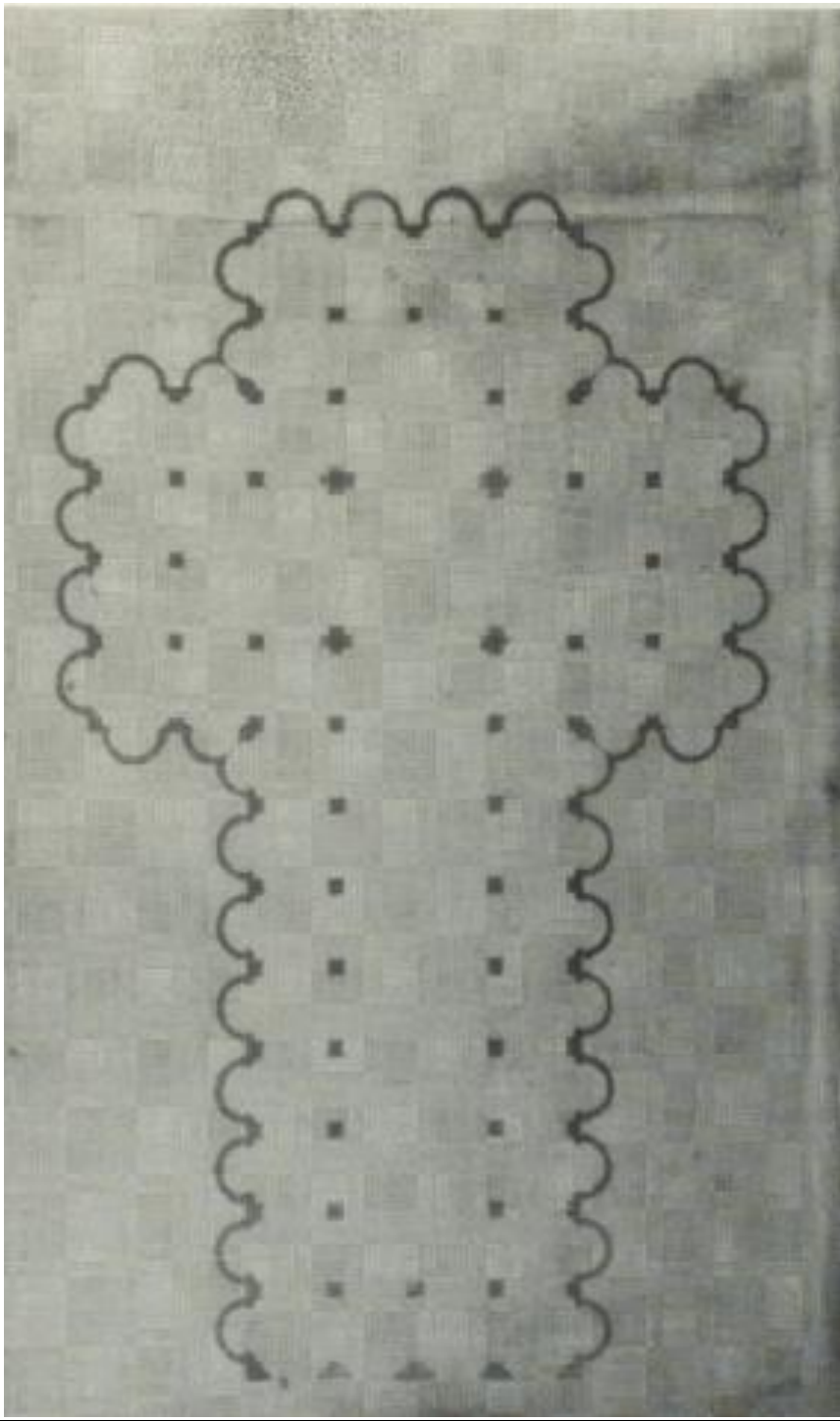


Fig. 17 - Giuliano da Sangallo's floor plan of Santo Spirito, Florence, c. 1486
(H. Saalman, 1993, 375.)

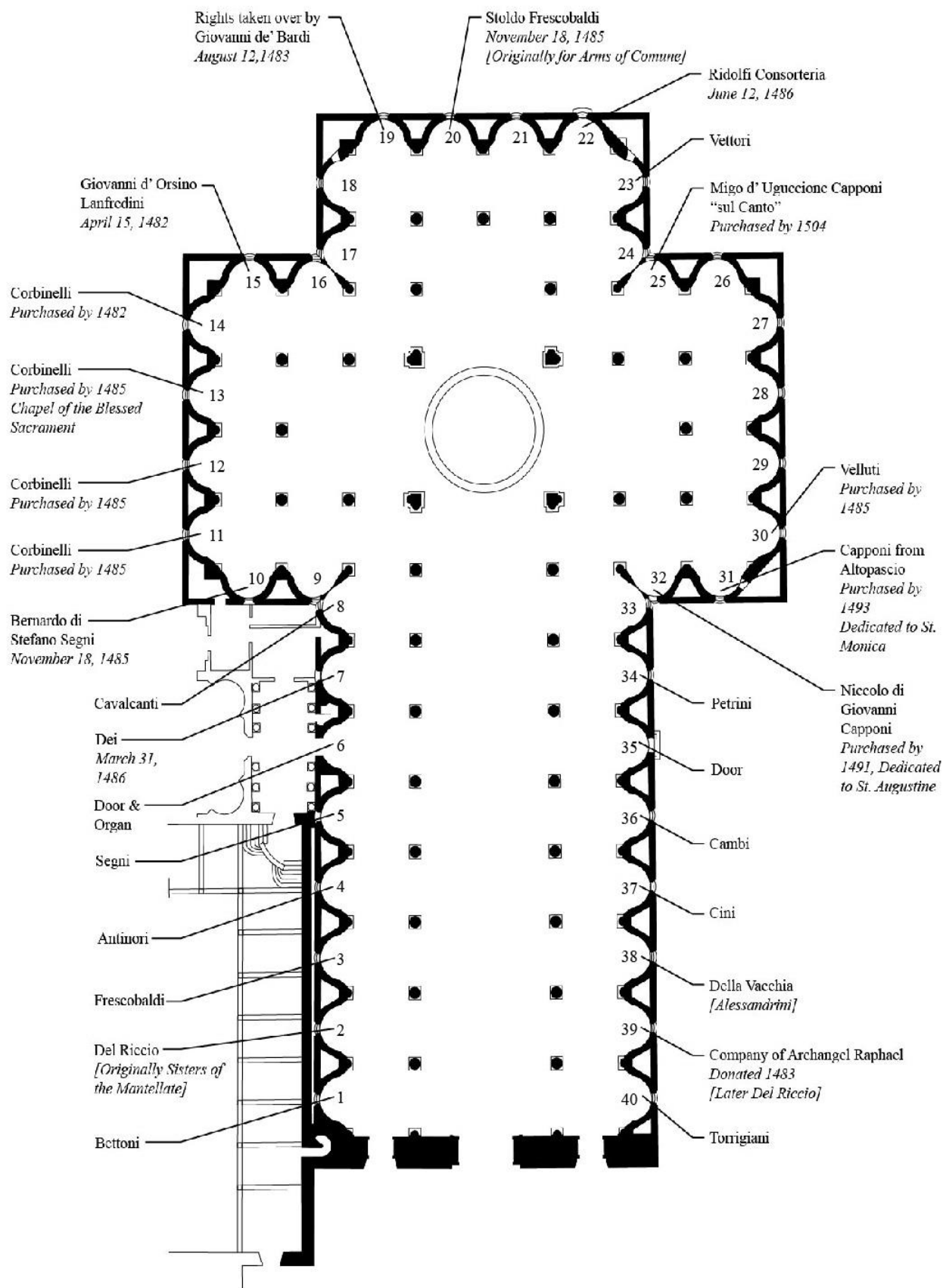


Fig. 18 - Floor plan of Santo Spirito, Florence, with later chapel patrons (Author with Graduate School of Architecture, Kent State University in Florence)



Frescobaldi Chapel with detail of window connecting directly to Frescobaldi Palace



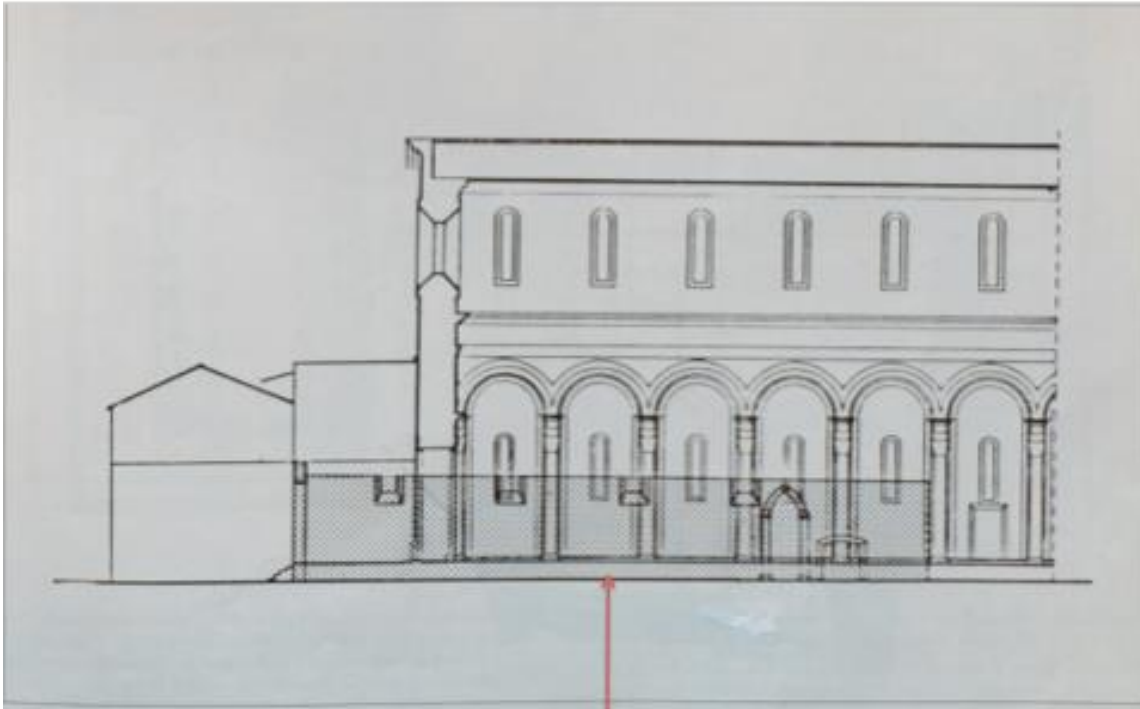
Fig. 19 – Garden of the Frescobaldi Palace, Florence, with wing of palace contiguous to Santo Spirito highlighted in red (photos: D. Frescobaldi and F. Solinas, 2004, 96 and 88.)



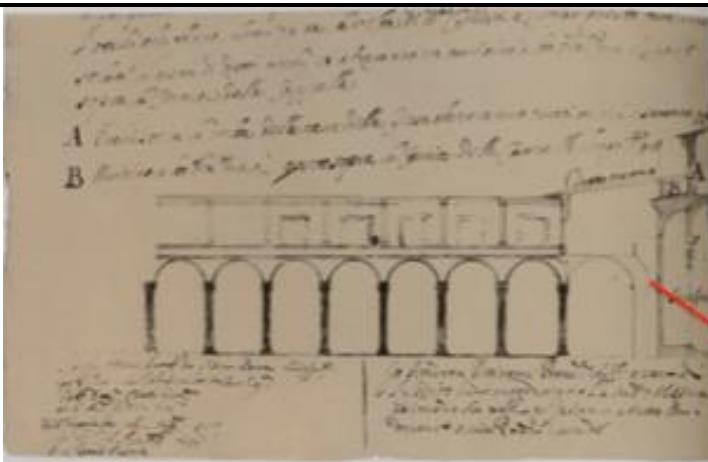
Fig. 20 - Exterior coats of arms of the Nerli and Torrigiani families on Santo Spirito, Florence
(photos: Wikipedia Commons)



Fig. 21- Reconstruction of Santa Reparata, Florence with anterior porch
(www.gonews.it)



Section of Santo Spirito with shaded "Hidden Wall"



Section of cloister from 1659 , with space between
"hidden wall" and exterior of western wall of new church



Fig. 22 (F. Quinterio, 1996, 40.)

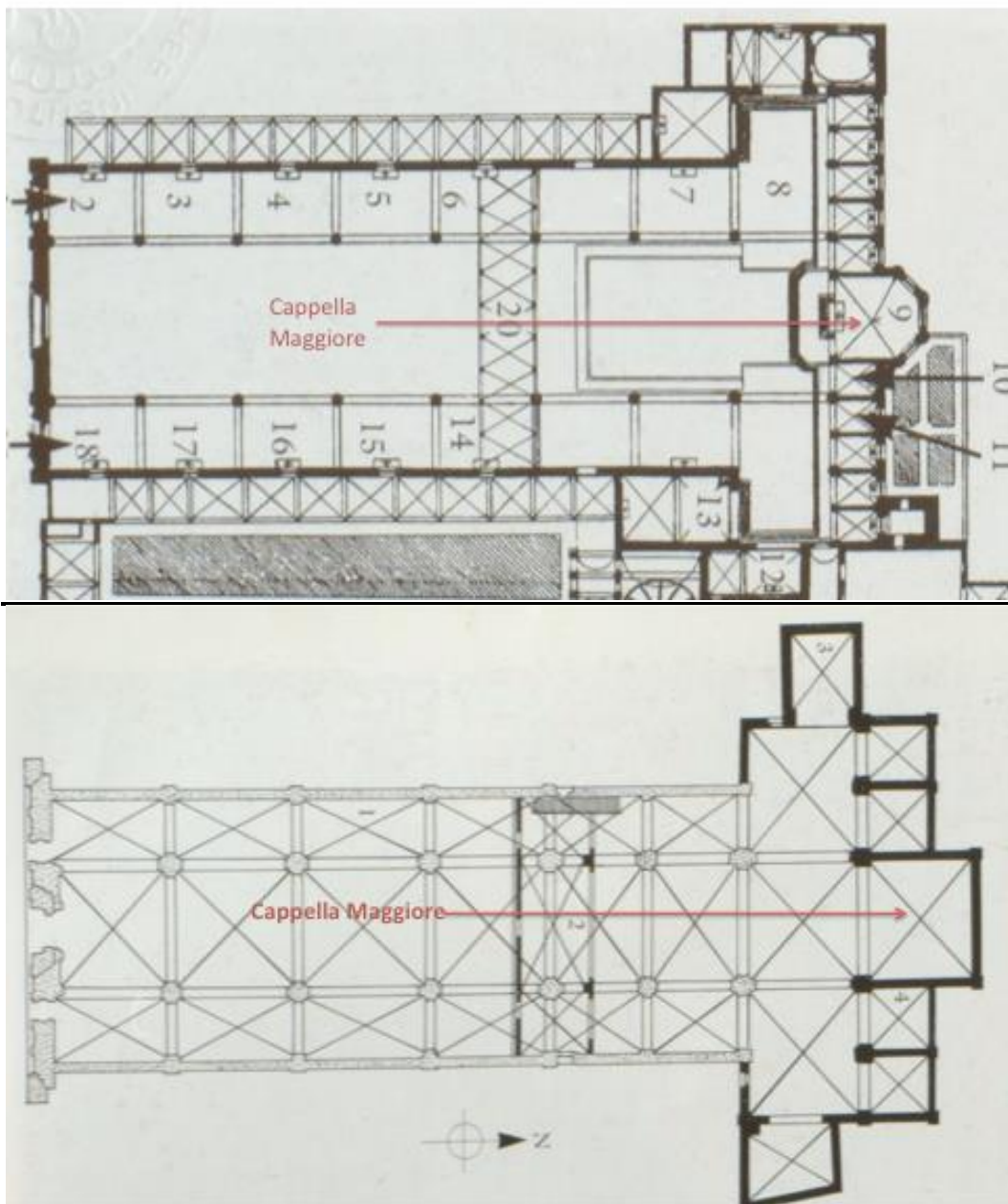


Fig. 23 - Floor plans of Santa Croce (above) and Santa Maria Novella (below), Florence, indicating high chapels.
 (J. Paoletti and G. Radke, 1997, 55, 56.)

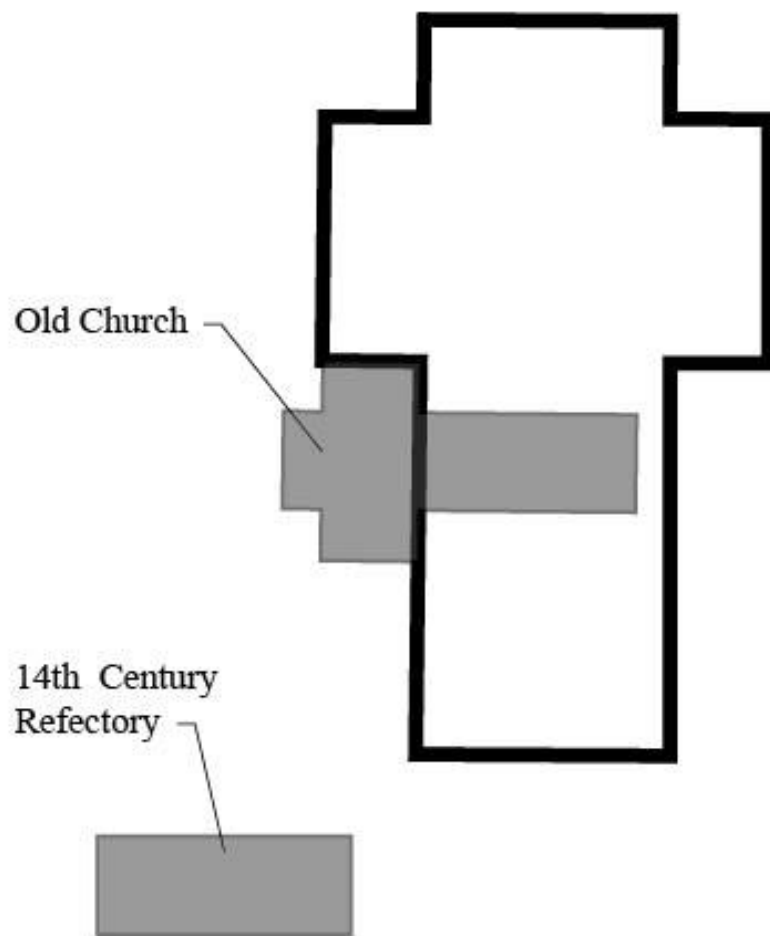


Fig. 24 - Schematic layout of the urban site of old Santo Spirito with a hypothetical perpendicular position in relation to the new church (Scale of old church speculative) (Author with Graduate School of Architecture, Kent State University in Florence)

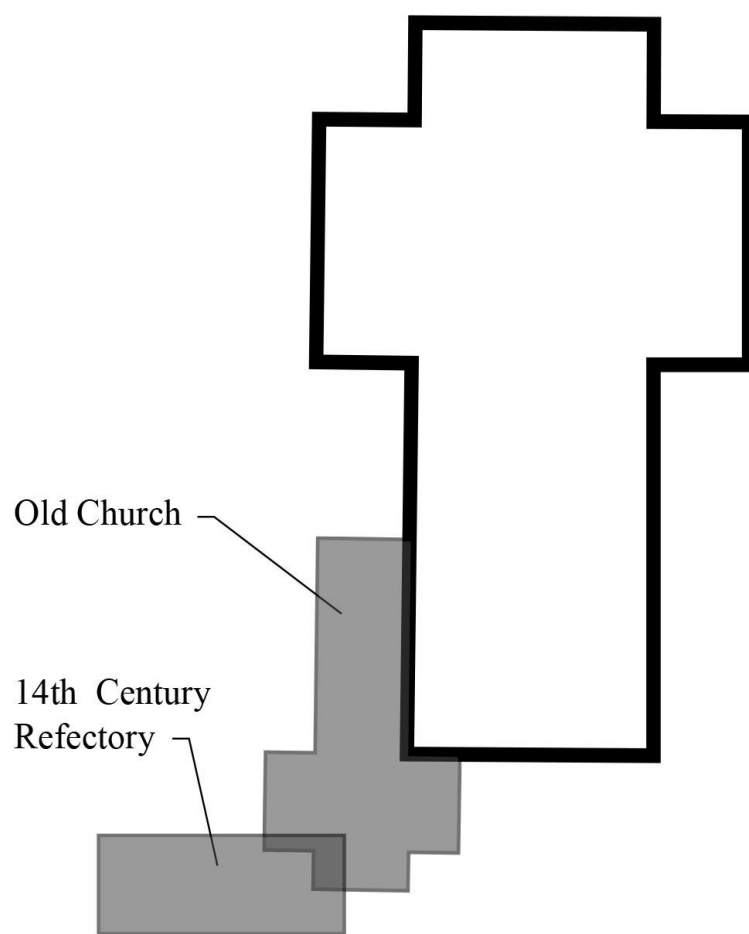
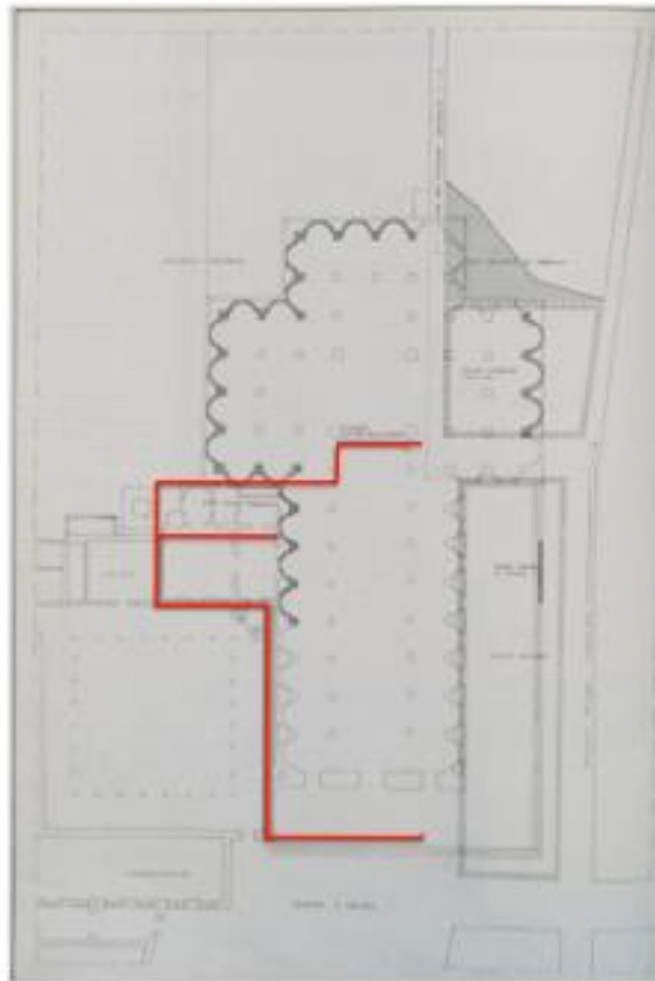


Fig. 25 - Schematic layout of the urban site of old Santo Spirito with a hypothetical parallel position in relation to the new church (Scale of old church speculative)
(Author with Graduate School of Architecture, Kent State University in Florence)



Quinterio's plan of superimposed old and new churches (old church highlighted in red)

Fig. 26 (F. Quinterio, 1996, 36.)

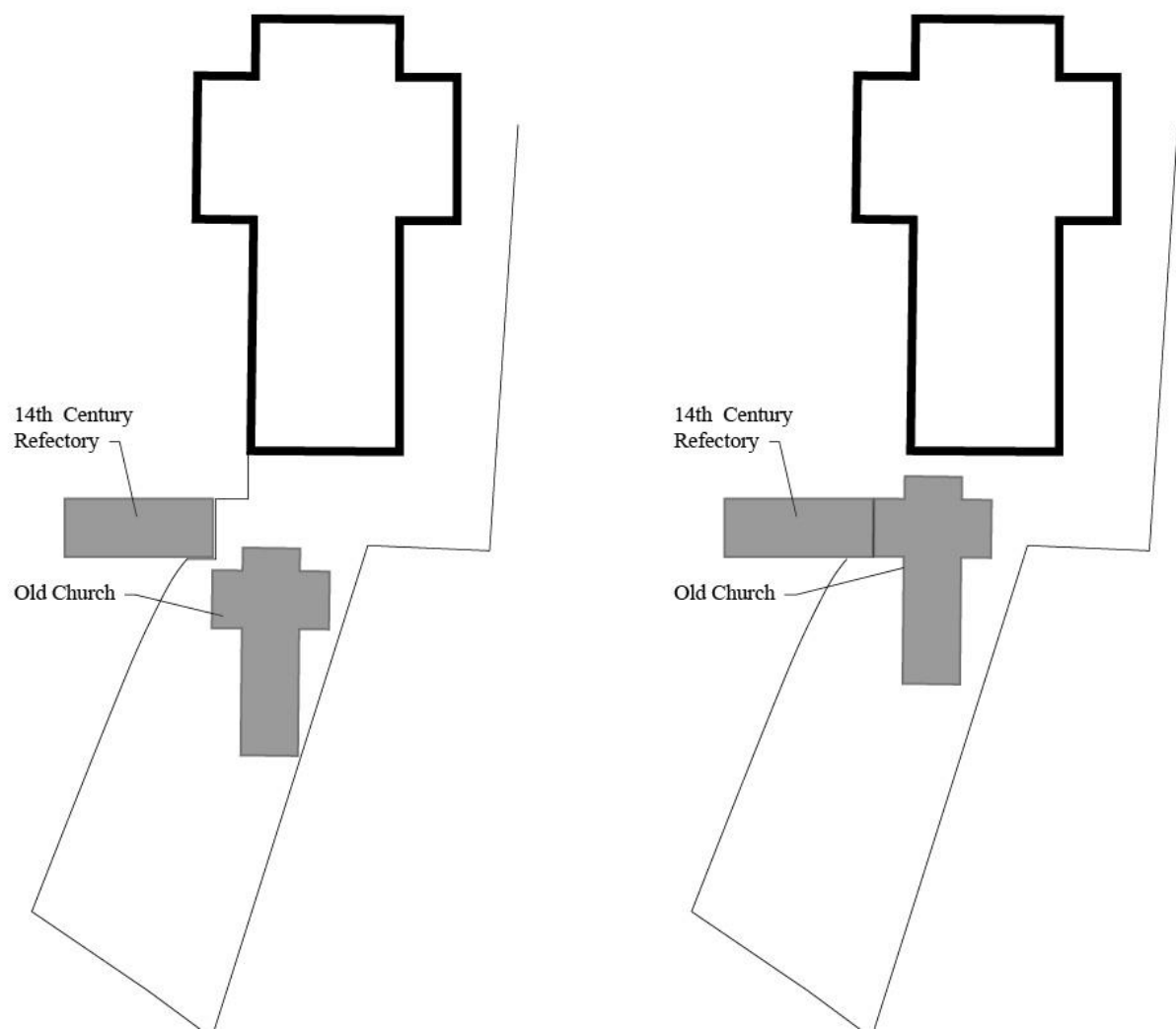


Fig. 27 - Schematic layout of the urban site of old Santo Spirito with two hypothetical anterior positions in relation to the new church (Scale of old church speculative) (Author with Graduate School of Architecture, Kent State University in Florence)

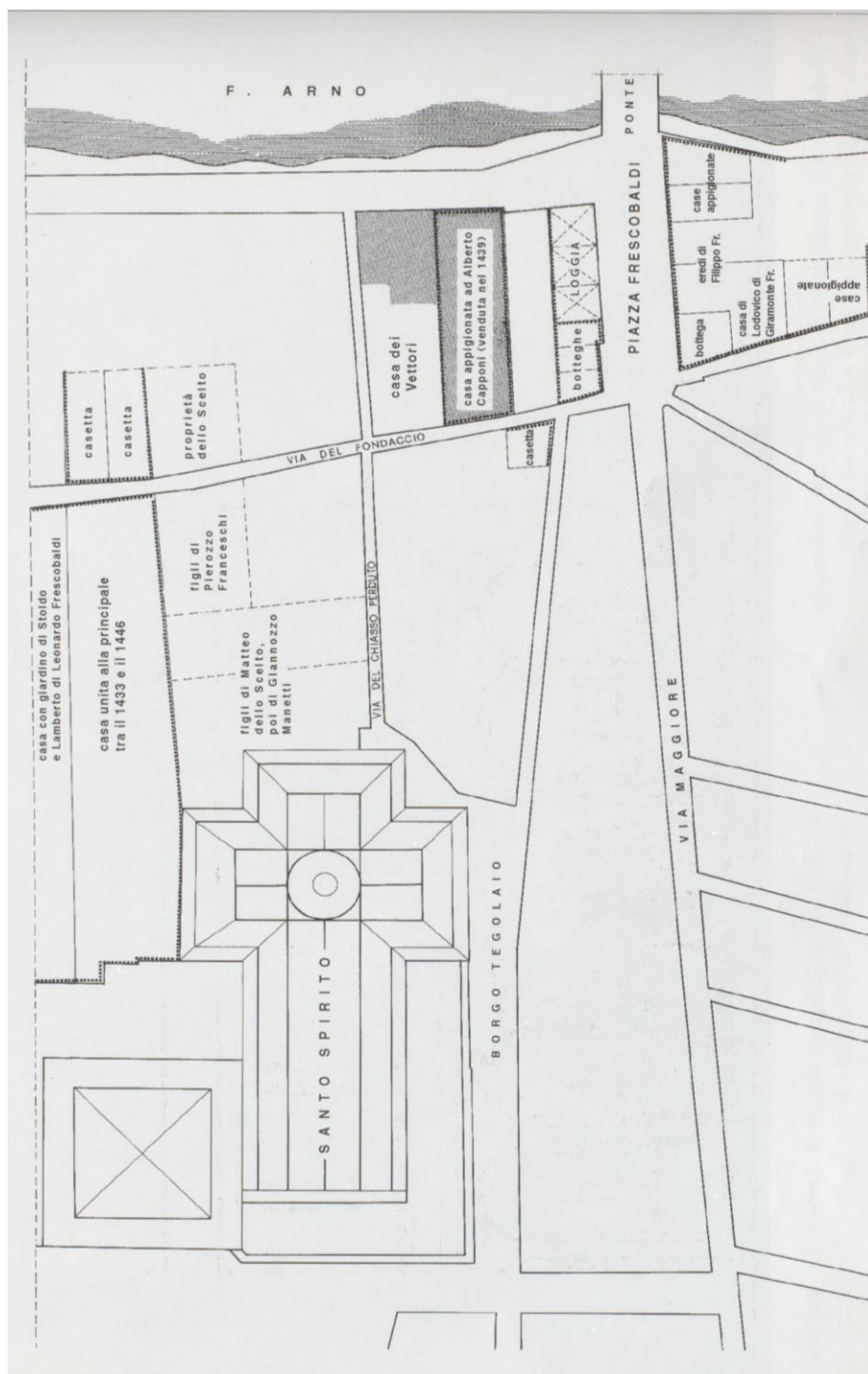
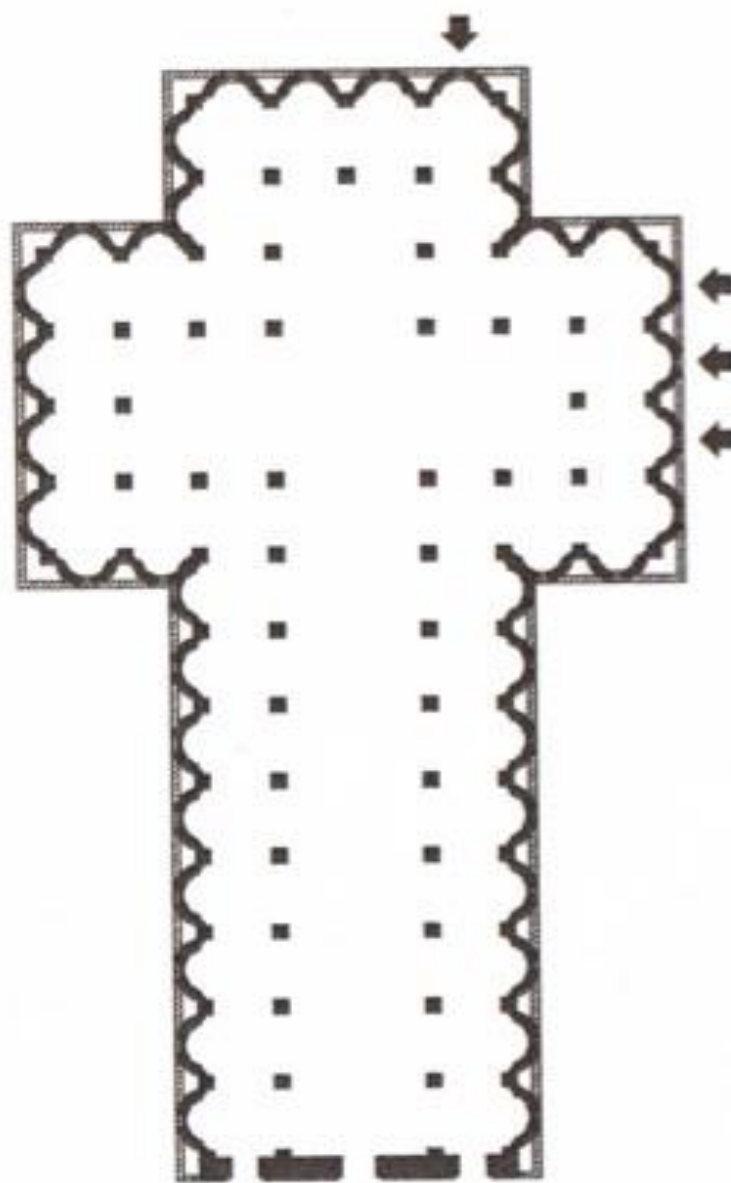
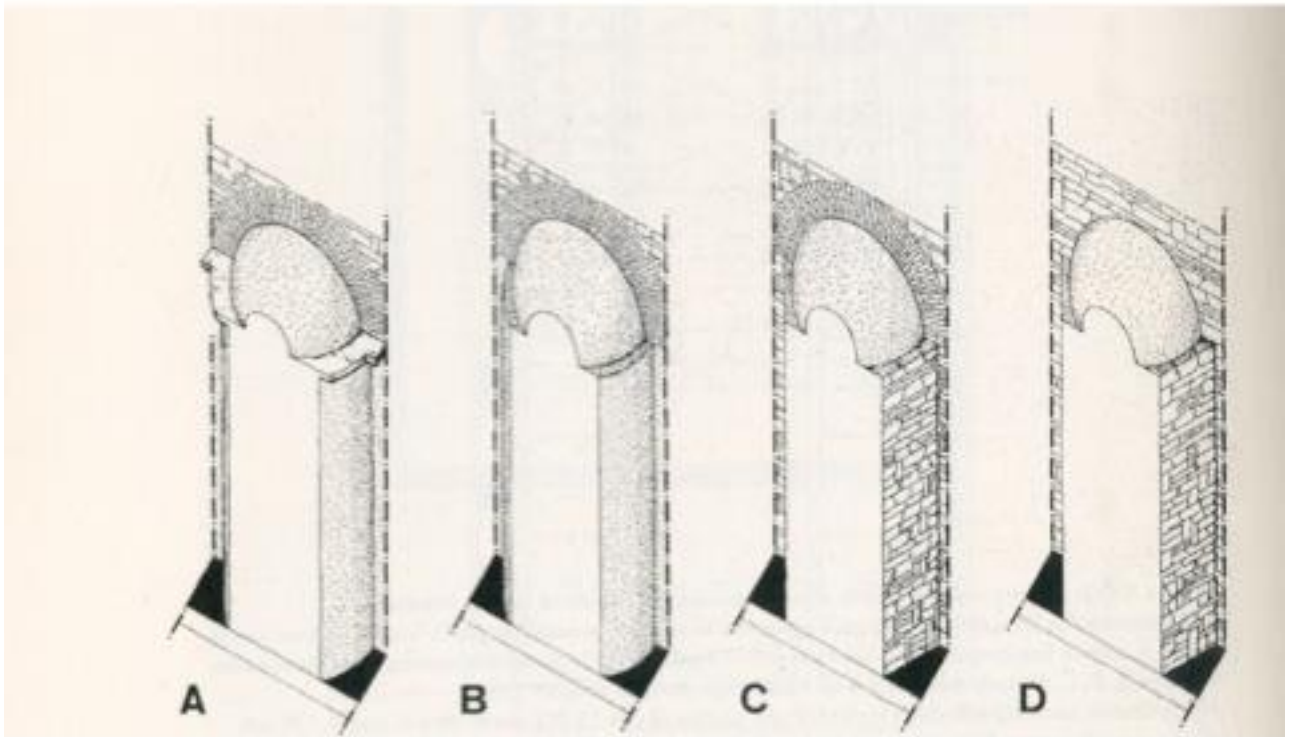


Fig. 28 - Urban plan of Santo Spirito area with Frescobaldi and Capponi properties around church (F. Quinterio, 1996, 38.)



CHAPELS WITH EXTERIOR CORNICES

Fig. 29 (Author with Graduate School of Architecture, Syracuse University in Florence)



Chapel Types as Proposed by Benevolo

Fig. 30 (L. Benevolo, 1968, 78.)

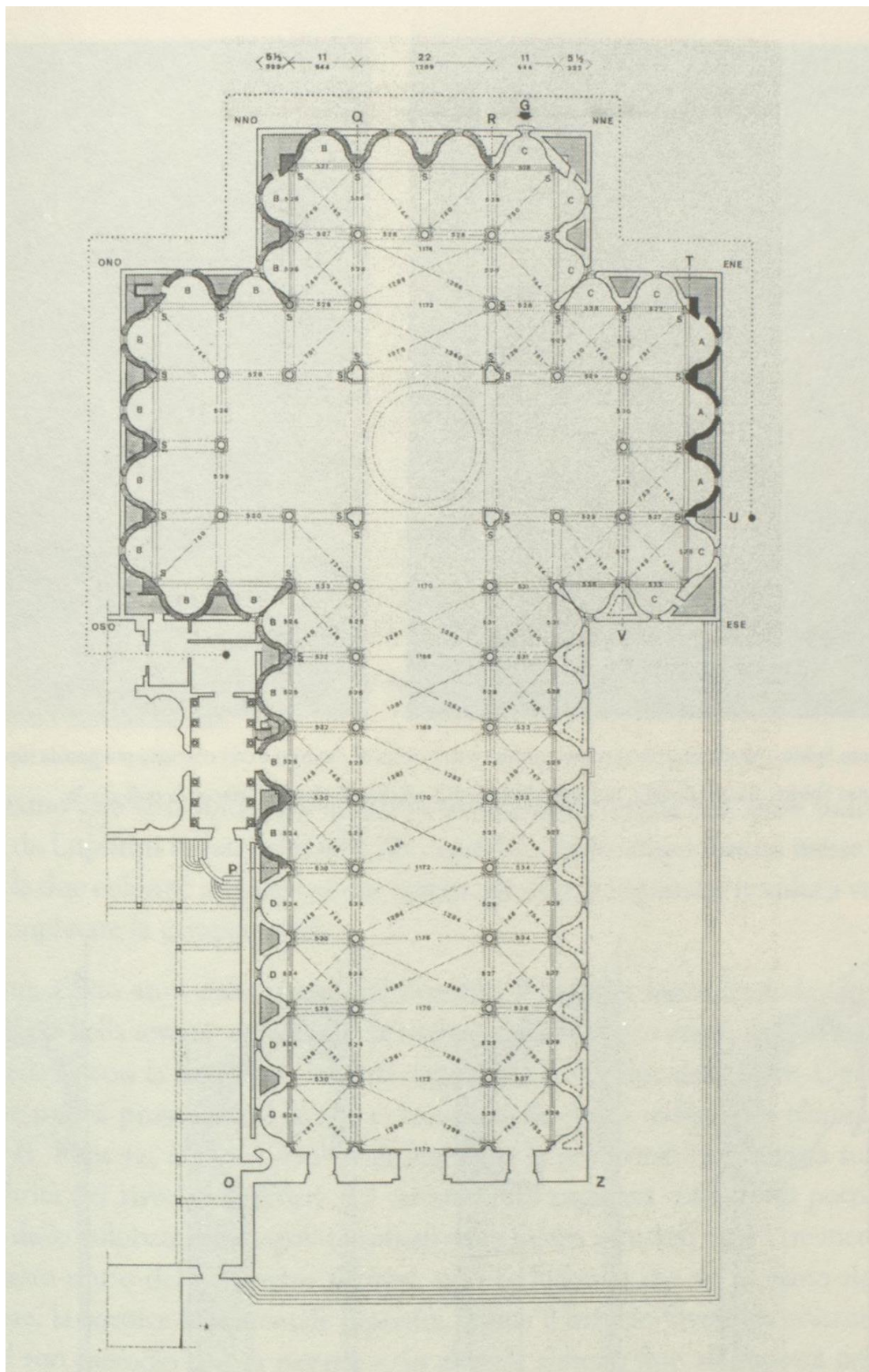


Fig. 31- Floorplan with locations of chapel types in Santo Spirito, Florence
(L. Benevolo, 1968, 77.)



Capponi Chapel with "Wall" tomb
of Neri di Gino Capponi

Fig. 32 (photo: E. Capretti, 1996, 281.)

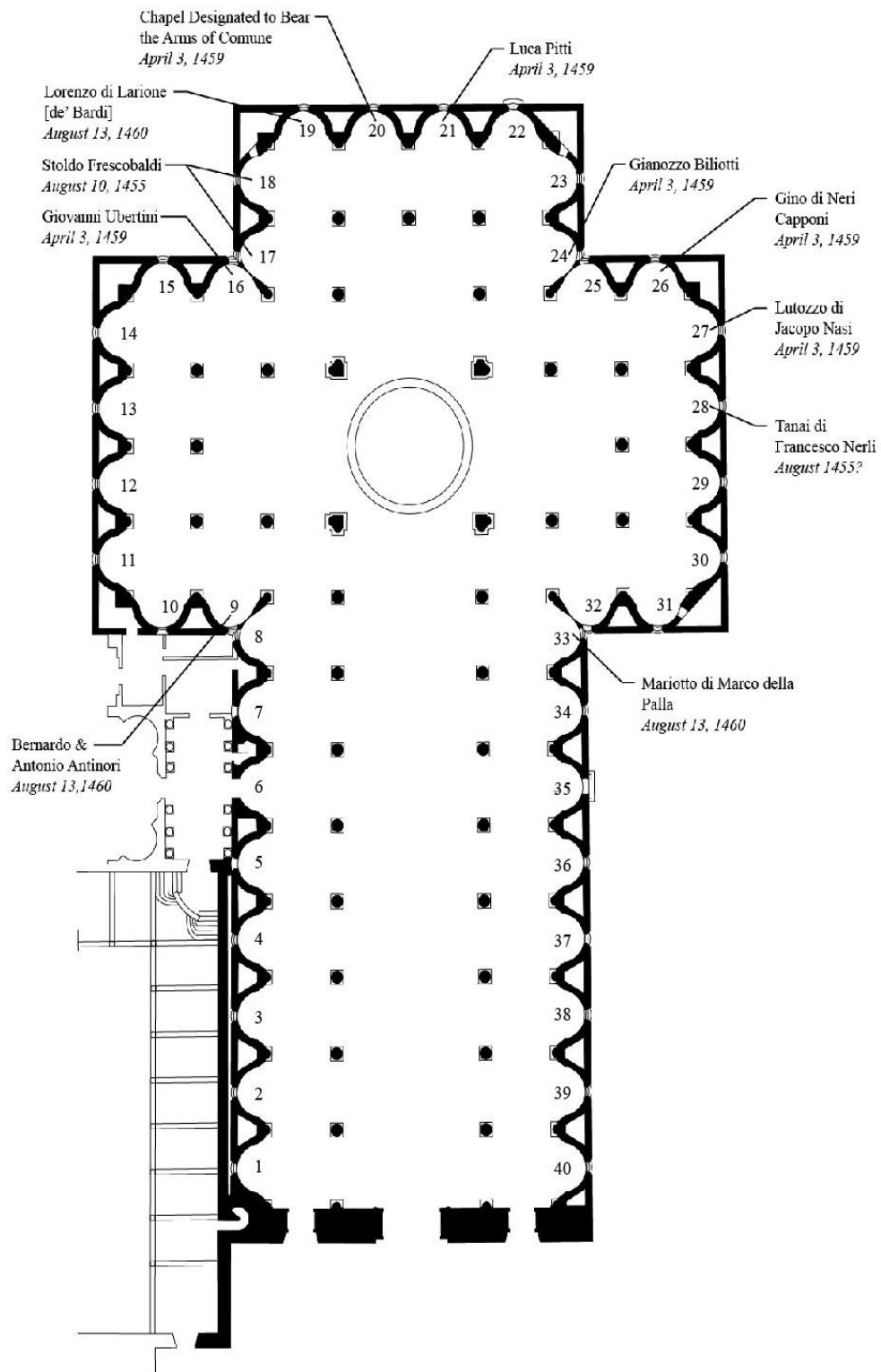
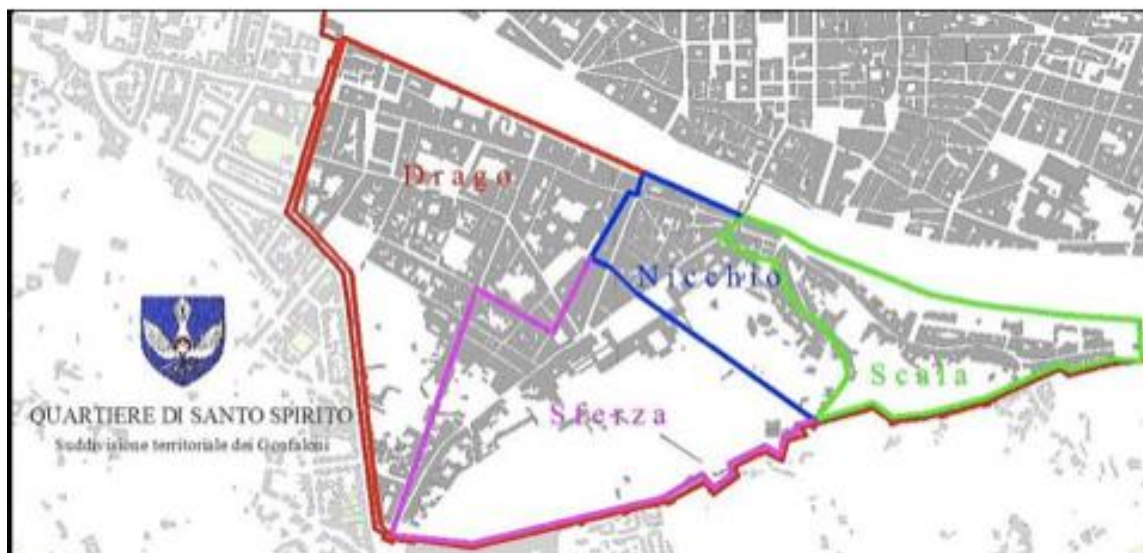


Fig. 33 – Floor plan of Santo Spirito, Florence, with chapels sold between 1455 and 1460 (Author with Graduate School of Architecture, Kent State University in Florence)

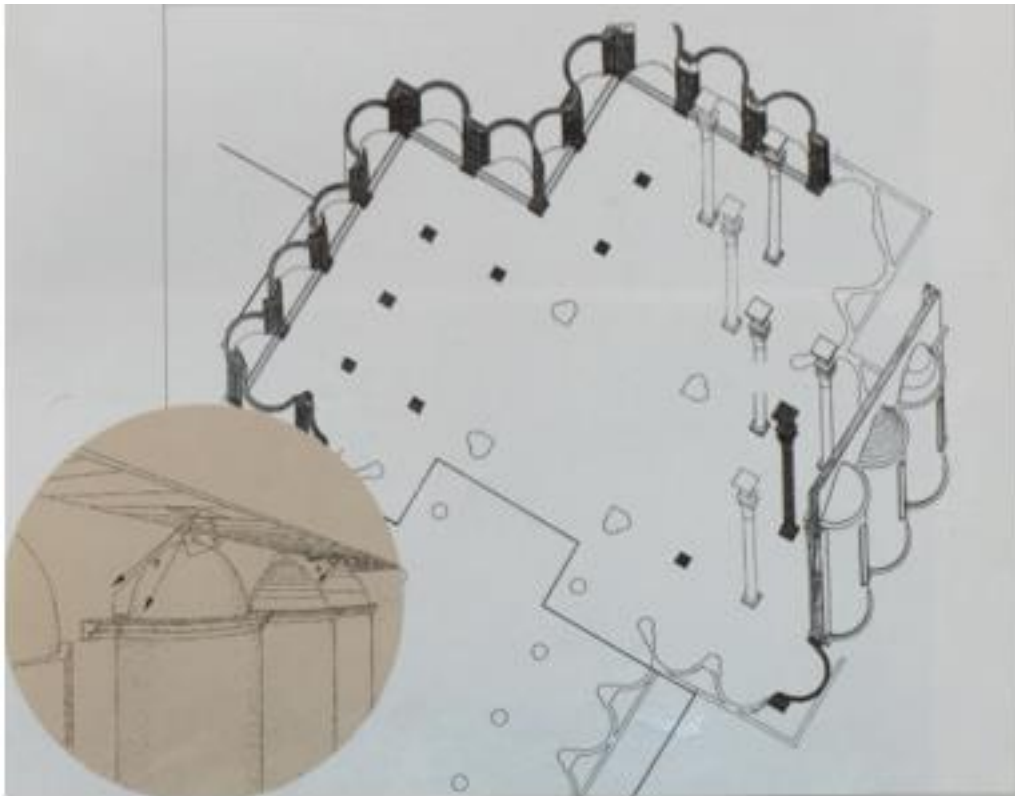


Fig. 34 - Standard of the Quarter Santo Spirito, Florence (V. Orgera, G. Balzanetti, L. Artusi and J. Poli, 2000, front cover.)



**Quarter of Santo Spirito with Boundaries of the
Gonfaloni**

Fig. 35 (www.wikimapia.org)



Quinterio's hypothetical axonometric drawing of eastern transept arm in 1454 with the first standing column highlighted in black

Fig. 36 (F. Quinterio, 1996, 97.)

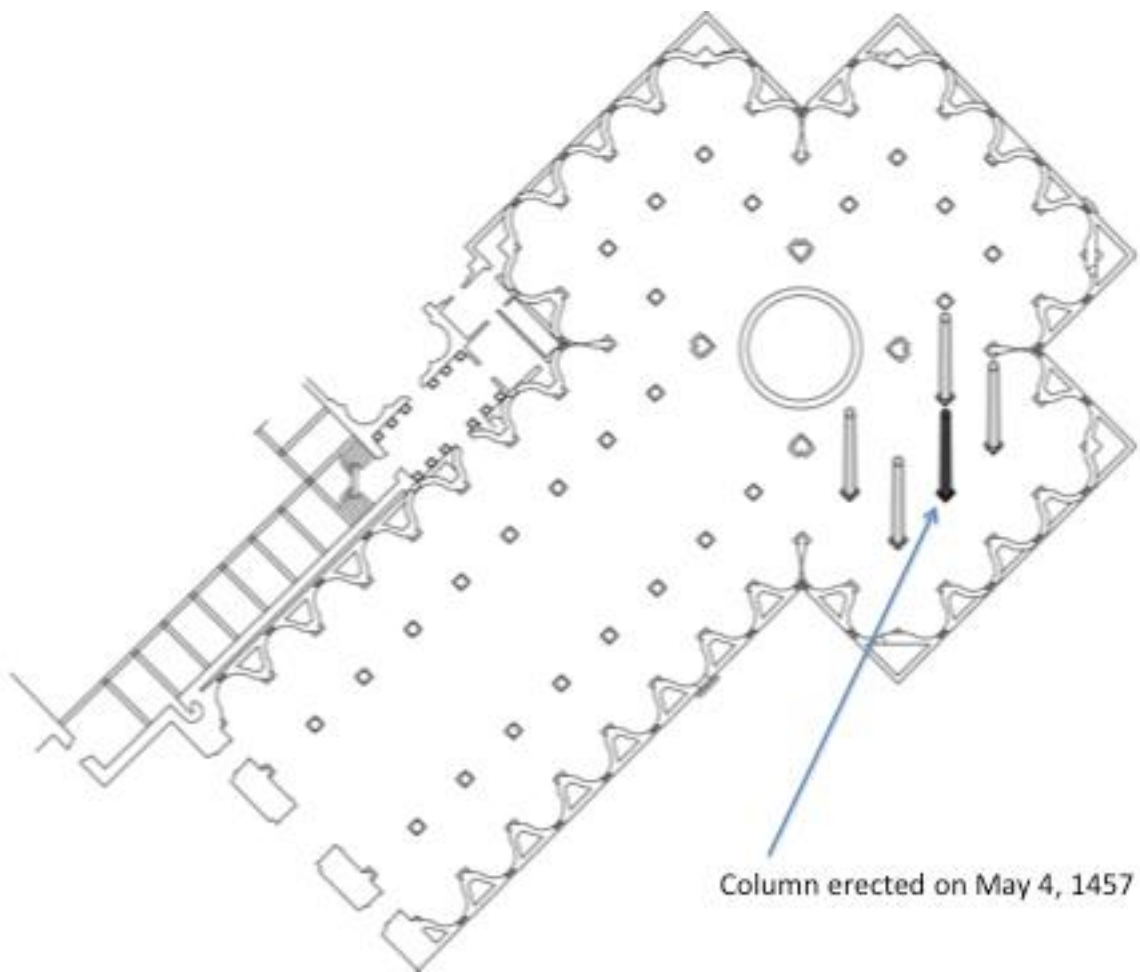


Fig. 37 - Axonometric rendering of Santo Spirito, Florence, with five raised columns in eastern arm of church (Author with Graduate School of Architecture, Kent State University in Florence)

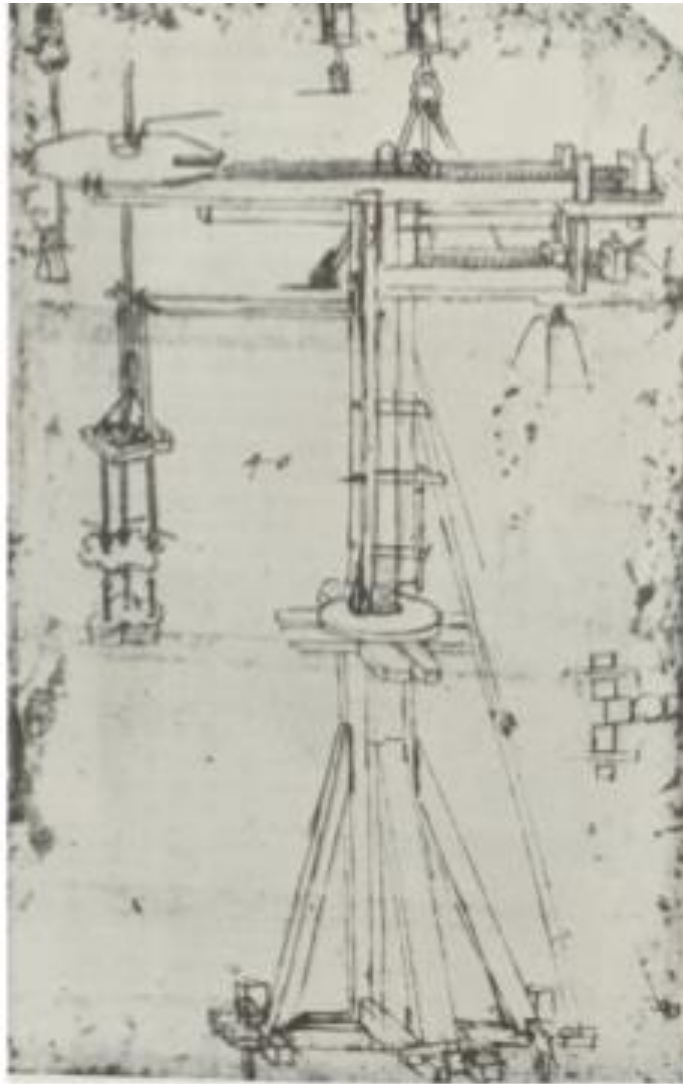


Fig. 38 – Drawing of Brunelleschi's lifting device, known as the *chastello* (F. Prager, 1970, 104.)



Fig. 39 - Exterior view of the Palazzo Strozzi, Florence
(photo: Wikipedia Commons)



Fig. 40 - Exterior view of the Hospital of San Paolo, Florence
(photo: G. Morolli, 1996, 205.)

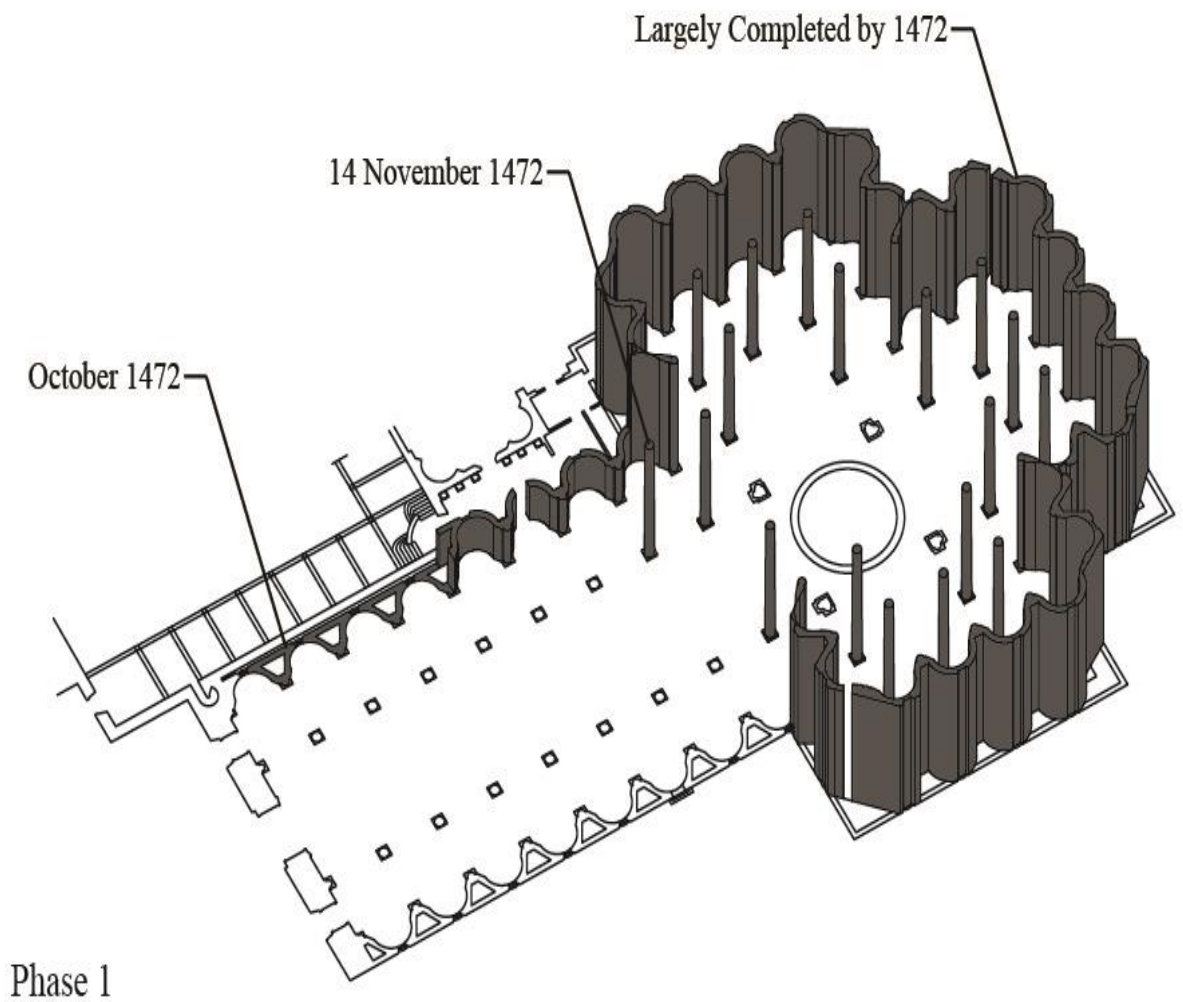


Fig. 41 - Hypothetical rendering of the state of completion of Santo Spirito, Florence, by 1472 (Author with Graduate School of Architecture, Kent State University in Florence)

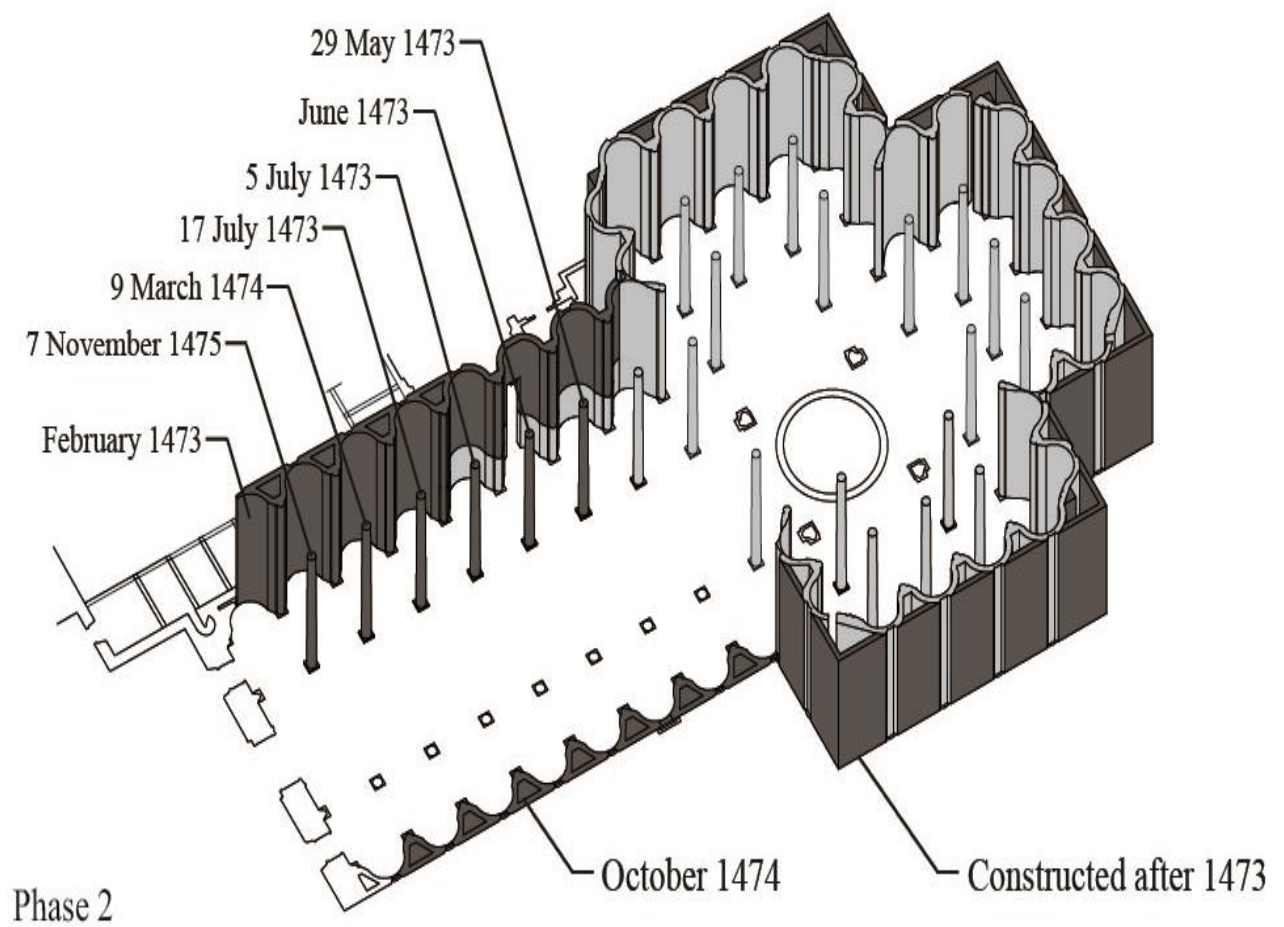


Fig. 42 - Hypothetical rendering of the state of completion of Santo Spirito, Florence, by 1475 (Author with Graduate School of Architecture, Kent State University in Florence)

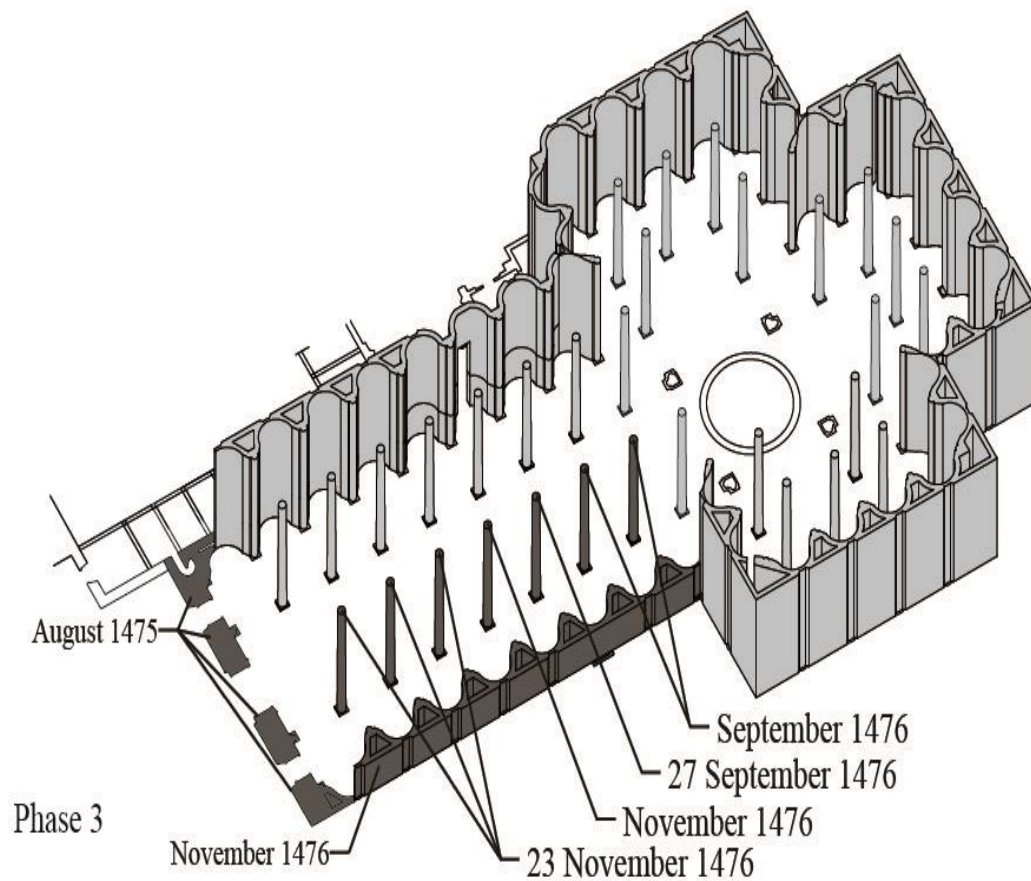


Fig. 43 - Hypothetical rendering of the state of completion of Santo Spirito, Florence, by 1476 (Author with Graduate School of Architecture, Kent State University in Florence)



Interior view of dome of Santo Spirito, Florence

Fig. 44 (photo: F. Quinterio, 1996, 104)



Fig. 45 - Interior nave view of the Badia Fiesolana, c. 1456 (photo: Wikipedia Commons)

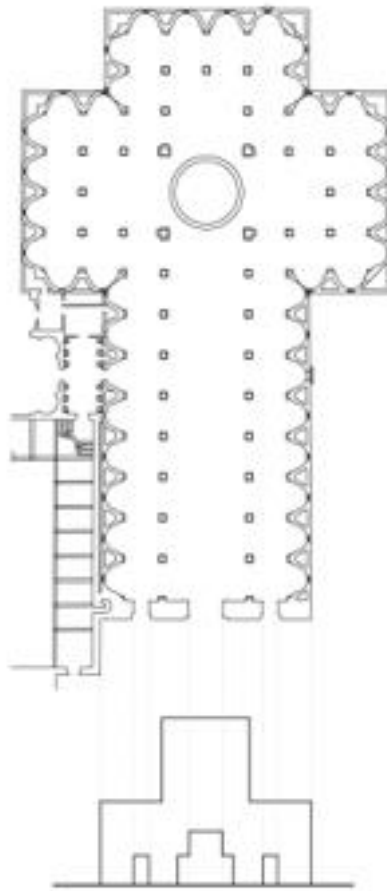


Fig. 46 - Rendering of façade wall of Santo Spirito, Florence, which could accommodate both three and four-door solutions (Author with Graduate School of Architecture, Kent State University in Florence)

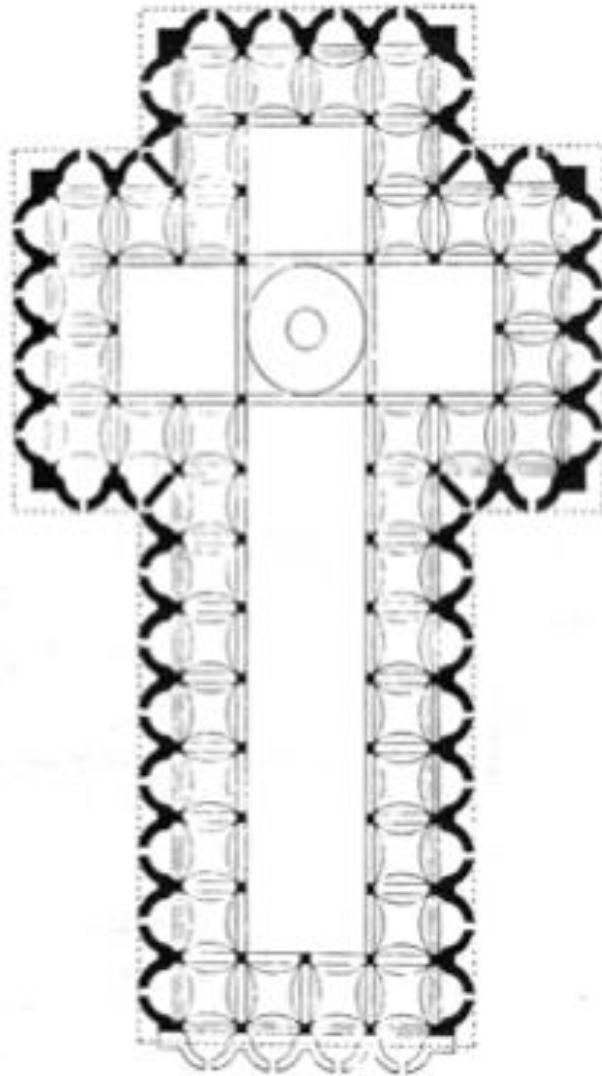


Fig. 47 – Floor plan of Santo Spirito, Florence, with projecting chapels along the façade wall (E. Luporini, 1964, Fig. 115)